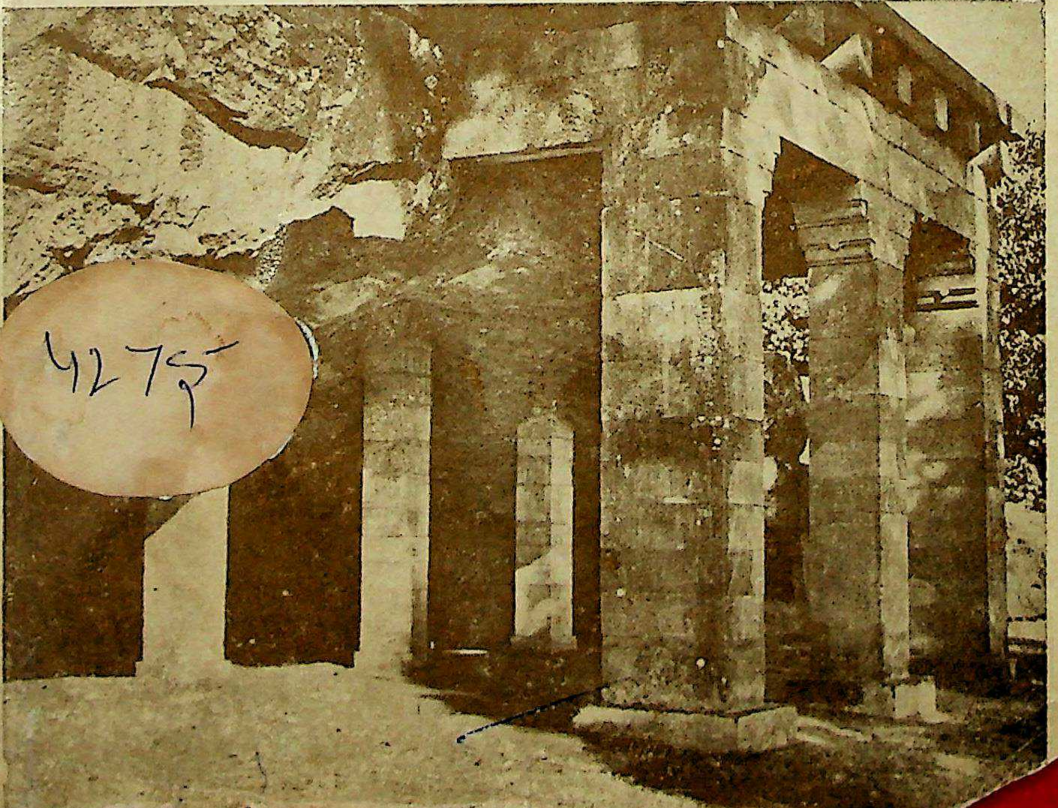
The Hāthigumphā Inscription
of
KHĀRAVELA
and
the Bhabru Edict
of
AŚOKA
— A critical study

by

Dr. Shashi Kant
M.A., D.R., Ph. D.



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Khāravela
and
Aśoka

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To those
who are interested
in digging up
the past

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Table of diacritical marks

a	अ		ḍ	ड्
ā	आ	ा	ḍh	ढ्
i	इ	ि	ṇ	ण्
ī	ई	ी	t	त्
u	उ	ु	th	थ्
ū	ऊ	ू	d	द्
e	ए	े	dh	ध्
ai	ऐ	ै	n	न्
o	ओ	ो	p	प्
au	औ	ौ	ph	फ्
ṁ	अं	ं	b	ब्
ḥ	अः	ः	bh	भ्
ṛi	ऋ	ृ	m	म्
’	ऽ		y	य्
k	क्		r	र्
kh	ख्		l	ल्
g	ग्		v	व्
gh	घ्		ś	श्
ṅ	ङ		sh, ṣ	ष्
ch, c	च्		s	स्
chh	छ्		h	ह्
j	ज्		ksh, kṣ	क्ष्
jh	झ्		tr	त्र्
ñ	ञ्		jñ	ज्ञ्
ṭ	ट्		ḷ	ल्
ṭh	ठ्			

Key to abbreviations

B.C.	...	Before Christ
E.I.	...	*Epigraphia Indica*
I.A.	...	*Indian Antiquary*
I.A.R.	...	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*
I.H.Q.	. .	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
J.B.O.R.S.	...	*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
J.D.L.	...	*Journal of the Deptt. of Letters*
J.R.A.S.	...	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
J.U.P.H.S.	...	*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*
K.R.E.	...	Kaliṅga Rock Edict
L	...	Line
M.A.S.B.	...	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
M.E.	...	Mahāvīra Era
M.P.E.	...	Minor Pillar Edict
M.R.E.	...	Minor Rock Edict
R.	...	River
R.E.	...	Rock Edict
S.B.E.	...	*Sacred Books of the East*
S.I.	...	*Select Inscriptions* by D.C. Sircar
Skt.	...	Sanskrit

CORRIGENDUM

page 8 line 8 *read* Saṁpuṇa *for* Sampuṇa
page 38 line 4 *read* Imperial *for* Imperical
page 42 line 31 *read c.* 171-136 B.C. *for c.* 178-136 B.C.
page 55 line 40 *read* page 37 *for* p. 321
page 95 *add* Mittal, Dr. A.C. ...*An Early History of Orissa* (1962)

FOREWORD

The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela is one of the few significant sources available for the dark period in the history of India between the fall of the Mauryan dynasty and the rise of the Guptas. Composed as it is in a very obscure Prakrit, and its characters badly weathered by centuries of exposure to the elements and in places quite illegible, this inscription has long been the subject of a great controversy among historians and palaeographers. Many uncertainties and ambiguities still remain. The date of the inscription is as yet not finally settled, and opinions vary over a period of about two hundred years. Certain scholars believe that it is a little later than the inscriptions of Aśoka, while others would date it not long before the beginning of the Christian era.

The new edition and translation of this inscription by Dr. Shashi Kant marks a great step in our understanding of this very difficult historical document. In many particulars the fresh interpretation presented here is an obvious improvement over those of previous students of the subject. After reading Dr. Kant's typescript, I find myself in agreement with him in most particulars, though I must record my doubts as to his views on the chronology of the inscription. The style of the script suggests to me a date in the 1st century B.C., and I would prefer to interpret the obscure chronological data in the inscription itself as referring to a period 300 years after the Nanda King, and not 103. But authorities may differ, and in general I would heartily recommend this interpretation to all students of Indian history.

With this is included a further study of one of Aśoka's most obscure inscriptions, the Bhabru Edict. This little document is as important for the history of Buddhism as the Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā Inscription is for that of Jainism, and it arouses many questions as to the correct interpretation of the passages of scripture referred to and the relations of church and state under Aśoka's regime. Here, too, Dr. Shashi Kant has produced new theories of great importance and I recommend them to all students of Indian history and religions.

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The photoplates of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription are being published by courtesy of the Patna Museum, Patna, that of the Bhabru Edict by courtesy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and the other photographs by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Preface

The Hāthīgumphā Inscription is the only extant record about a forgotten epoch in Indian history. It is highly personal and that makes it all the more important for the history of its author. It is unique inasmuch as it gives the dates of earlier events, records the doings of its author in a chronological sequence regnal yearwise, and presents the earliest written exposition of Jain terminology and corroboration of the Jain scriptural tradition.

The Bhabru Edict is earlier in date. It is also personal in character. The significant thing about this epigraph is that it provides the earliest written record of the Buddhist scripture and monastic organisation.

The studies of these inscriptions, presented here, are independent but they have been combined as they have thematic similarity. Their interpretations suffered in the past for want of correct appreciation of the Jain and Buddhist traditions. Fresh attempt has been made here to read these inscriptions keeping in view the tenor and context, and to correlate and interpret the data with reference to relevant traditions and more recent archaeological finds.

For the studies presented here I owe a debt of deep gratitude to all those savants whose patient researches enabled me to know something of our heritage. A great many of them are no longer with us, but the fruits of their toil inspire us and sustain us in the uphill task of exploring new data and appraising the known data so that the missing links in our history may be found and the coming generations may be better informed about their history and culture.

Prof. A. L. Basham, Prof. R.K. Dikshit and Prof. K.D. Bajpai have been kind enough to go through the typescript and I am thankful to them for their appreciation. These studies would not have taken a shape but for the encouragement I received from my father Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jain. The credit for getting it into print goes to the Prints India.

Shashi Kant

Jyoti Nikunj,
Charbagh,
Lucknow-1.
December, 1971 A.D.

SECTION I

THE HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA

1

The Inscription

Introductory

The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela has had a fascinating course since its discovery in 1825 A.D. It is not a royal panegyric merely ; it is an epitome of history. Such chronological narration of events in a matter-of-fact manner is yet to be found on rock, pillar or stone of an ancient date. It has an order and a sequence not met so far in any other inscription of comparable date and that makes it much more valuable as a historical document. Moreover, it forms the only source of information about its author and subject.

The inscriptions of Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśi Aśoka, definitely earlier than this epigraph of Khāravela, give very little information of political nature and read more like sermons incised on stone. More or less contemporary Nānāghāt Inscription and the later Nāsik Cave Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, as also the Girnār Inscription of Rudradāman, present little as a chronological record. They, as well as the later *praśastis,* or eulogistic inscriptions, as they are so aptly called, generally seem to make vague claims and assertions for their royal authors or patrons through praiseful epithets.

In fact, such a historically potent epigraph is yet to be discovered elsewhere in the contemporary world. In India, the place which is assigned to Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* among ancient historical writings, is well deserved by this inscription in the realm of epigraphy and it betrays well-informed historical consciousness among the Indians more than two-thousand years ago.

To use the terminology of Kauṭilya, it is a *Prajñāpana Lekha* (Public Notification) engraved for the purpose of narrating (*ākhyānam*) the principal events of the life and reign of King Khāravela, and is endowed with all the six qualities of *arthakrama* (proper arrangement), *sambandha* (relevancy), *paripūrṇatā* (completeness), *mādhuryam* (sweetness), *audāryam* (dignity) and *spashṭatvam* (lucidity), that make a good composition[1].

Decipherment

No wonder therefore that this inscription has been engaging the attention of the Indologists and claiming their best labours for the last nearly one-and-a-half century. The story of its decipherment is on that account no less fascinating. It was first noticed by Stirling in 1825 A.D. who gave an account of it in the *Asiatic Researches*, XV (pp. 313 ff.), and was first published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VI (pp. 1075–91, plate LVIII). A tracing of the inscription was published by Cunningham in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I (pl. XVIII, pp. 27 f, 98–101, 132 ff.), in 1877, and a version of it, by Raja Rājendra Lāla Mitra in the *Antiquities of Orissa*, II (pp. 16 ff.), in 1880. The same year a cast was also taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

It was, however, only in 1885 that the first reliable version was given by Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji in the *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes* (pt. III, sec. 2, pp. 152–77). He also made out the name as *Khāravela*. Bühler suggested certain corrections in 1895 and 1898[2]. The first inked impression was taken in 1906 by Dr. T. Bloch and was sent to Prof. Keilhorn who passed it on to Dr. J.F. Fleet. In 1910 Fleet published certain corrections in Line 16[3] and Lüders also published a summary[4]. In 1913 Prof. R.D. Banerji examined certain portions and in 1917 two inked impressions were again taken, one of which was published in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, III, 4 (pl. I), and the other was sent to Dr. F.W. Thomas. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal discussed and read it on the basis of that impression in *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, 4 (pp. 425 ff.)[5], and the next year he published a revised text of his reading after checking it from

---

1. *Arthaśāstra*, X, (trans. R. Shamasastry, 4th ed., pp. 71–75).
2. 'Origin of Indian Brāhmī Alphabet', *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 13.
3. *J.R.A.S* , 1910, pp. 242 ff, 824ff.
4. *E.I.*, X, App., pp. 160-61 (No. 1345).
5. Banerji's Note is on pp. 486ff. therein.

the rock itself.[1] In 1919 Jayaswal and Banerji examined the inscription on the spot and H. Panday of the Archaeological Survey Department prepared a cast of which two paper impressions were also taken. "It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be." It was published in 1927 in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII. The cast and the paper impressions are preserved in the Patna Museum. In 1924, Jayaswal and Banerji went over the corrections and in 1927 and 1928 the former published the results of his further studies[2]. In 1929 Dr. B.M. Barua also edited this inscription at No. 1 in his *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*. Sten Konow[3], Thomas[4], Muni Jina Vijaya[5] and R.P. Chanda[6] also added some useful information.

A somewhat definitive stage in decipherment was marked by a fuller discussion of its palaeography by Banerji in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, X (pp. 133 ff.), as also by a joint edition of the text by Jayaswal and Banerji in 1929-30 in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XX (pp. 71—89, No. 7). The latter also on that basis reconstructed the history of Khāravela in his *History of Orissa*, I (pp. 71—92). Barua did not agree with them and so he published his revised edition in 1938 in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV, 3 (pp. 459—85). In 1942 Dr. D.C. Sircar published his readings and annotations in the *Select Inscriptions*, I (pp. 206—13, No. 91)[7]. Perhaps no other single epigraph has been the subject of so much research and controversy. And yet it leaves much to be desired.

---

1. *J.B.O.R.S.*, IV, pp. 364 ff.
2. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII, pp. 221ff. ; XIV, pp. 150ff.
3. *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12ff.
4. *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 83-84.
5. Quoted in *E.I.*, XX ; also his letter in *Anekānta*, I, 6-7, p. 351.
6. *I.H.Q.*, 1929, p. 395f., 595.
7. Among further notable contributions may be added : Sircar in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, II, pp. 211ff ; Balchandra Jain's *Kaliṅga-Chakravarti* (in Hindi) ; Dr. N.K. Sahu in *A History of Orissa*, pp. 327—30 ; Jagannath in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 111—15 ; Dr. L.N. Sahu—*Uḍīsā meṁ Jaina Dharma* (in Hindi), pp. 39—73 ; and Dr. J.P. Jain—*Bhārtīya Itihāsa : Eka Dṛishṭi* (in Hindi), pp. 180—90.

Site

Some three miles to the north and north-east of Bhubaneswar in the Puri district of Orissa is situated a low range of hills called the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. These hills preserve some of the early specimens of rockcut architecture in eastern India. The excavations are known in the local parlance as the *gumphā*, or cave. The two-storeyed Rāṇī Gumphā on the Udayagiri represents the Orissan rock-cut cave architecture at its best[1]. To the west of it is the Baḍā Hāthīgumphā (Big Elephant Cave)[2], "a natural cavern, very little improved and enlarged by art", on the southern face of the Udayagiri.

On the overhanging brow of this Hāthīgumphā is engraved the precious record of the doings of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, otherwise little known to history, in seventeen lines covering an area 15 feet 1 inch in length and 5 feet 6 inches in height. "The inscription begins on the southern face and is continued up to a place where the stone has actually become the roof of the cave. The last eight or nine lines occur on a sloping surface where it is difficult either to read or copy them. Below the inscription the walls of the natural cavern have been chiselled straight and at places are as beautifully polished as those of the Barābar caves. Near the floor there are sundry rockcut partitions which do not appear to have been regular walls as they do not go up to the roof. In the dressed and polished portion of the side or the wall of the cave there are a number of later inscriptions (of about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.)[3] many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest. They prove, however, that the cave was visited by pilgrims up to the tenth century A.D. and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine. The bed of the cave is full of sand in front and unless it is excavated its original form cannot be determined. The Hāthīgumphā stands at right angles to Svargapuri and Mañchapuri on its left and the Sarpa cave on its right. There are several small and large excavations on the top of the boulder which forms the roof of the cave"[1].

---

[1] For fuller account, see Percy Brown—*Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu Periods*), (4th ed. 1959), pp. 28—30.

[2] There are two Hāthīgumphās on the same hill. To distinguish between the two, one is called Chhoṭā (Small) Hāthīgumphā and the other, merely Hāthīgumphā or Baḍā (Big) Hāthīgumphā.

[3] See, *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p 130.

Although the entire record appears to have been very carefully inscribed, it has suffered greatly from Nature's fury. The record as it is now, is very much weather-beaten and shows signs of progressive natural decay. Three main problems confronting the epigraphists in deciphering it are : firstly, the different forms of a few letters, secondly, the misleading chisel-marks, and thirdly, the changes wrought by natural decay and weather conditions. As early as 1917 it was observed that "the rock was roughly dressed on the right-hand side. The chisel-marks of the dressing are misleading ; they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters. Even hornets like to take liberty with the record of the Emperor Khāravela with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks on it."[2]

On the basis of the plates published in *J.B.O.R.S.*, III and XIII, and *I.H.Q.*, XIV[3], the inscription may be read as follows. Variants as as well as my reasons for accepting a particular reading or restoration are given in the notes below. Punctuation marks have been indicated within brackets. The particles and characters which are not quite distinct but are most probably there, have also been shown within brackets. Components of compound words have been separated by hyphens where feasible.

---

1. Jayaswal and Banerji (*E.I.*, XX, p. 72).
2. *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, 4, p. 430.
3. Sri B.V. Nath, Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Orissa, has informed that an inpression was also taken by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in 1954. It has not been published. It may also be added that due to the progressive decay of the original the later impressions are likely to miss some characters, hence not much help can be derived from them.

Text

Line 1. Namo Arahaṁtānaṁ[1] (.) Namo sava-Sidhānaṁ (..) Airena[2] Mahārājena Mahāmeghavāhanena[3] Chetirājava(ṁ)sa-vadhanena Pasatha-subha-lakhanena[5] Chaturaṁta-luṭhaṇa-guṇa-upetena[6] Kaliṁgādhipatinā-Siri-Khāravelena

Line 2. paṁdarasa-vasāni siri-kaḍāra-sarīra-vatā kīḍitā Kumāra-kīḍikā (.) Tato Lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra-vidhi-visāradena Sava-vijāvadātena nava-vasāni Yovaraja(ṁ) pasāsitaṁ[7] (.) Sampuṇa-chatuvīsati-vaso tadāni vadhamāna-

---

(Below, J stands for Jayaswal and Banerji in *E.I.*, B for Barua in *I.H.Q.*, and S for Sircar in *S.I.*)

[1] J—Ar(i)haṁtānaṁ
B—Araha(ṁ)tānaṁ
Since the medial *i* is doubtful, it would be better to read *Arahaṁtānaṁ.*

[2] J, B—Airena
S—Aireṇa
Since throughout the inscription *na*, and not *ṇa*, has been used in the 3rd case, it should be *Airena.*

[3] J, B—Māhāmeghavāhanena
S—Mahāmeghavāhanena

[4] J—vasa
B—va(ṁ)sa
Vasa gives no sense here as it has been used in the meaning of 'year' throughout the inscription.

[5] J—lakhanena
B—lakha(ṇ)ena

[6] J—luṭhita-guṇ-opahitena
B—luṭhana-guṇa-upetena
S—luṭha(ṇa)-guṇa-upitena
Chanda was the first to make out *guṇa-upetena* correctly.

[7] J—pasāsitaṁ
B—va sāsitaṁ, *or* pasāsitaṁ
Va sāsitaṁ gives no meaning.

sesa-yovanābhivijayo[1] tatiye—

Line 3. Kaliṁga-rājavaṁse-purisayuge Mahārājābhisechanaṁ[2] pāpunāti (.) Abhisitamato cha padhame vase vāta-vihata[3]-gopura-pākāra-nivesanaṁ paṭisaṁkhārayati Kaliṁganagari-Khibīraṁ[4] sitala[5]-taḍāga-pāḍiyo cha baṁdhāpayati savūyāna-paṭisaṁthapanaṁ cha

Line 4. kārayati panatīsāhi-sata-sahasehi (,) pakatiyo cha raṁjayati (.) Dutiye cha vase achitayitā Sātakaṁniṁ[6] pachhima-disaṁ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṁ-daṁḍaṁ paṭhāpayati[7] Kaṁhabeṁnā[8]-gatāya cha senāya vitāsiti[9] Asika-nagaraṁ[10] (.) Tatiye puna vase

---

[1] J—vadhamāna-sesayo Ven-ābhivijayo
B—vadha(māna) (sesa)yovanābhivijayo
S—vadhamānasesayovenābhivijayo

[2] J—Māhārājābhisechanaṁ
B—Mahārājābhisechanaṁ

[3] J – vāta-vihita—
B—vāta-vihata—

[4] J—Kaliṁga-nagari-Khibīra—
B—Kaliṁga-nagari-Khi(b)īra(ṁ), *or*, Khi(p)īra(ṁ), (,)
S—Kaliṁganagari Khibī(raṁ)

[5] J—-isi-tāla—
B—sitala—

[6] J—Sātakaṁniṁ
B—Sātakaṇiṁ

[7] J—paṭhāpayati
B—pathāpayati

[8] J—Kañha-beṁnā—
B—Kanhabeṁnaṁ

[9] J—vitāsitaṁ
B—vitāsiti
The context also warrants a finite verb.

[10] J—M(u)sika-nagaraṁ
B—Asikanagaraṁ
The character is more clearly *a* than *mu*.

Line 5. Gaṁdhava-veda-budho dapa-nata-gīta-vādita-saṁdaṁsanāhi[1] usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi cha kīḍapayati[2] nagariṁ (.) Tathā chavuthe vase Vijādharādhivāsaṁ ahata-puva-Kaliṁga-puvarāja n(i)v(e)s(i)t(i)[3] ———vitadha-makuṭa-sabiladhite[4] cha[5] nikhita-chhata-

---

1. J—saṁdaṁsanāhi
   B—saṁdasanāhi

2. J—cha kīḍapayati
   B—kīḍāpayati
   Cha is also necessary to connect the two *padas* (compound words).

3. J—(nivesitaṁ)
   B—n(ivesitaṁ)
   Indraji—namaṁsitaṁ
   The letters *na va sa ta* are sufficiently clear. Since a finite verb is needed to make the meaning of the passage sensible, these letters seem to form *nivesiti*.

   Most probably there is nothing to read between *nivesiti* and *vitadha*. This space was either left out by the scribe due to roughness of the rock or some omission was made by him which necessitated the rubbing of the rock.

4. J— —sabilaṁ(ḍhi)te
   B—(sabipravaji)te
   The characters *sa bi la te* are legible enough. Between *la* and *te* is a character which is more likely *dhi*. They seem to form *sabiladhite* which can mean 'caparisoned horse'.

   Horse was also considered to be an important insignia of royalty. It has therefore been bracketted with *makuṭa* (crown).

   This is the last component of the word beginning with *vitadha*. As in the following two words *nikhita* and *hita* govern the remaining components, here *vitadha* governs *makuṭa* and *sabiladhite*.

5. J reads *cha* while B does not.
   It is distitnct, as well as necessary for connecting the two principal clauses here.

Line 6. bhiṁgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-Raṭhika-Bhojake pāde vaṁdāpayati (.) Paṁchame cha dānī[1] vase Naṁdarāja-tivasasata-oghāṭitaṁ Tanasuliyavāṭā-paṇāḍiṁ Nagaraṁ pavesayati sa.........[2] (.) Abhisito cha......[3] rājaseyaṁ[4]-saṁdasayaṁto sava-kara-vaṇa[5]—

Line 7. anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati pora-jānapadaṁ[6] (.) Satame cha vase[7] pasāsato Vajiragharavati-ghusita-gharini

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1. J—cha dānī
   B—chedāni
2. J—pavesa(ya)ti (.) So.......
   B—pavesa(yati) so..... (.)

   Khāravela has given the cost of all of his public works. The mutilated portion ought to contain the cost incurred on the instant work. The sentence would naturally end after mutilation. Since only the initial character is distinct, it is not possible to restore the mutilation and make out the expenses.
3. J—....bhisito cha
   B—Abhisito (cha)....

   Barua has correctly suggested that the mutilation contained *chhaṭhe vase.*
4. J—Rājas(ū)ya(ṁ)
   B, Indraji—rājaseyaṁ

   The following *saṁdasayaṁto* determines the choice.
5. J— —vaṇaṁ
   B— —vaṇa—
6. J—Poraṁ Jānapadaṁ
   B—pora-janapadaṁ
7. J—Satamaṁ cha vasaṁ
   B—Satame cha vase

   All the regnal years in this inscription are given in the form given by Barua. There is no reason for making a departure from the usual practice here.

s(ā) matuku-pada puṁn(o)...ta pā...[1] (.) Aṭhame cha vase mahatā-senāya (apati)hata-(bhi)ti-Goradhagiriṁ[2]

Line 8. ghātāpayitā Rājagaha-napa(ṁ) pīḍapayati[3] (.) Etinaṁ[4] cha kaṁmapadāna-panāṁdena[5] saṁbita[6]-senavāhane

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1. J—pasāsato Vajiraghara-vati-ghusita-gharini sa matuka-pada-puṁne..... (Ku)ma....... (.)

   B—(a)sasata-vajiraghara-Khatiya-sata-ghaṭani

   Samataka-padasaṁna saṁtipada ? ?....... (.)

   Prinsep and Cunningham—savata-khadapana narapa savitaka-padajhāna-sammatipada (.)

   The characters are not so obliterated as to permit such different readings. Only *vati-ghusita* can be alternately read as *Khatiy*(*ā*)-*Sat*(*i*) and by that the meaning retains sense.

   In the mutilated portion beyond *puṁno*, two letters are fairly distinct. They are *ta* and *pā*. The context suggests restoration as *puṁn*(*oda*yā)*ta pā*(*punāti*).

2. J—sen(ā).......Goradhagiriṁ

   B—senāya (apati)hata-(bh)iti-Goradhagiriṁ.

3. J—Rājagahaṁ upapīḍāpayati

   B—Rājagaha(ṁ) upapīḍapayati

   Indraji—Rājagaha-napaṁ pīḍāpayatī

   Prinsep—Rājagabhaṁ upapīḍapayati

   Cunningham—Rājagaṁbhu upapīḍapayati

   Konow also read *napa* which is clear enough.

4. J—Etin(ā)

   B—etinaṁ

5. J—sa(ṁ)nādena

   B—panādena

6. J—saṁb(i)ta—

   B—pabaṁta—

   Prinsep—paṁbāta

vipamu(ṁ)chitu Madhuraṁ apayāto Yamanā-(nadīṁ)[1]...
...........[2] (.) Palavabhāra[3]—

Line 9. kaparukha[4]-haya-gaja-radha-saha yaṁte sava-gharāvās(ī)-

---

[1] J—Yavana-rāj(ā) D(i)mi(ta)...

B—Yavana-rājā ?mi??sa?(ā)mo,

Since Konow made out *Dimita* the readings of this passage have been generally based on the presumption that it contains a reference to Demetrius, the Greek King. This presumption is, however, not well founded.

What has hitherto been supposed to read *Yavanarājā*, actually reads *Yamanānadīṁ*. The letters beyond it are indistinct. Barua also thought that *Dimita* could not be definitely made out.

Yamanā-nadīṁ also fits more appropriately in the context. The verb *apayāto* definitely suggests a geographical point and discounts the possibility of a reference to any person.

[2] J—....yachhati.....

B—dati ???.... sava(ra)-(rā)jāna cha...ga(chha)ti

The passage is very badly mutilated and it is difficult to make out any reading.

It should contain words to indicate the direction of the Yamunā river from Kaliṅga or to indicate that the river lay in the Madhya-deśa or something else to qualify it.

Thereafter there may also be a reference to Khāravela's marching in procession attended by the satellite kings, as is suggested by the reading made out by Barua - *savara-rājāna cha......gachhati*. This reading is, however, not free from doubt and can be taken as only a probable.

[3] J—palava. .

B—palavabhāra

[4] J—kapa-rukhe

B—kapa-rukha—

pūji.—Ṭh(ū).—..ya[1] Sava-gahanaṁ cha kārayituṁ Bamaṇānam jātiṁ parihāraṁ dadāti[2] (,) Arahata cha...[3] (.)

---

[1] J—sava-gharāvāsa-parivasane agiṇathiyā
B—sava-gharāvāsa-pa???? ya
Prinsep—sava-gharavasapa
Cunn.—sava-gharavasaya-anatikagavaya
Indraji—sava-gharavasadhaṁ

The letters after *gharāvāsa* are not quite legible. The syallables *pū ji ṭha* and *ya* can alone be read with some certainty. The space is generally taken to contain 6 to 11 letters.

It is now known that an important Jain Stūpa existed in Mathurā in the few centuries preceding the Christian era. A gateway was added to it in the 2nd century B.C. By the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. people started referring to it as '*deva-nirmite*' ('made by gods') due to its long antiquity. It is quite likely that Khāravela worshipped at this Stūpa during his visit to Mathurā and also made a note of it in his inscription.

The passage may be restored as follows :

sava-gharāvasī-pūjita-Ṭhūpa-pūjaya

i.e., 'to worship the Stūpa worshipped by all the householders.'

[2] J—Baṁhaṇānaṁ jātiṁ parihāraṁ dadāti
B—bramhaṇānaṁ ja(y)a-parihāraṁ dadāti

The reading *mha* is very doubtful. The character is more clearly *ma*.

[3] J—Arahato (va)...

B—Arahata......(.)

Cha can be read after *Arahata.* The mutilated portion should supply a verb to govern *Arahata.* The context warrants the following restoration :

Arhata cha pūjati (.)

i e., 'and worships the Arahat.' For this purpose obviously he should have gone to the Stūpa.

Here also ends the record of the 8th year.

......suvijaya[1]

Line 10. te ubhaya-Prāchī-taṭe rāja-nivāsaṁ[2] Mahāvijaya-pāsādaṁ kārayati aṭhatisāya-sata-sahasehi (.) Dasame cha vase Daṁda-saṁdhī-sā(ma)mayo[3] Bharadavasa-paṭhānaṁ mah(ī)-jayanaṁ.... .kārāpayati[4] (.) ....p(ā)yātānaṁ[5] mani-ratanāni-saha yāti[6]

---

1. J—(gī)ya(to)
   B—.....va suvijaya

   The event of making successful expedition as far as the Yamunā should have been of great significance for Khāravela and therefore he called it *suvijaya*.

   The mutilated portion before *suvijaya* should have contained the words

   Navame cha vase.

   Khāravela has recorded the events year-wise and a reference to year is necessary here.

2. J—...k.i. mānā(ti)rāja-saṁnivāsaṁ Mahāvijayaṁ pāsādaṁ
   B—te ubhaya-Prāchi-taṭe (rāja-)nivāsaṁ Mahāvijaya-pāsādaṁ
   (*Prāchi-taṭe* may also be read as *Puti-taṭe* or *Puri taṭe*.)

   River Prāchī still flows in that region. Therefore the reading *Prāchī* can be better relied upon.

3. J—daṁḍa-saṁdhī-sā(mayo)
   B—dada-ni?dhīta(bhisa)mayo

4. J—mah(ī)-jayanaṁ....kārāpayati
   B—?hi..?yanaṁ........kārāpayati

   The sentence ends at *kārāpayati*.

   The mutilated portion before *kārāpayati* should have contained some word to mean 'preparations' which were caused to be made by Khāravela.

5. J—........p(ā)yātānaṁ cha
   B—??????tānaṁ

   The mutilated portion before *pāyātānaṁ* should have contained

   Ekadasame cha vase.

   Cha after *pāyātānaṁ* is obscure as well as redundant.

6. J—upalabhate
   B—saha-yāti

Line 11.—(maṁdaṁ) cha Ava-rāja-nivesitaṁ[1] Pithuḍaṁ gadabha-nagalena kāsayati[2] (,) janapada-bhāvanaṁ[3] cha terasa-vasa-sata-kataṁ bhiṁdati Tamira-daha-saṁghātaṁ[4] (.) Bārasame cha vase......sa(ha)sehi vitāsayato[5] Utarāpadha-rājāno

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1. J—(maṁdaṁ) cha Ava-rāja-nivesitaṁ
   B— ———?? puvarāja-nivesitaṁ

   The initial part of Lines 11—17 has been obliterated. That much space in Lines 1—10 contains 10—12 letters. The best that can now be done to restore the lost text is to make a suggestion in keeping with the context and the size of the space.

   The record of the 2nd year seems to indicate Khāravela's style of describing his expeditions with reference to cardinal points in relation to his dominions. If so, the obliteration could have contained *dakhina disaṁ*, to mean "in the southern direction".

   The not-so-distinct characters after obliteration strongly suggest *maṁdaṁ*, which also seems to fit in the context.

2. J—Pithuṁḍaṁ gadabha-naṁgalena kāsayati
   B—Pithuḍa gadabha Nagale nekāsayati

3. J—janasa dabhāvanaṁ (janapada-bhāvanaṁ ?)
   B—janapada-bhāvanaṁ

4. J—terasa vasa-satikaṁ ābhi(ṁ)dati T(r)amiradesha-saṁghātaṁ
   B—terasa vasa sata-kataṁ bhidati tamiradaha-saṁghātaṁ
   Konow—terasavasa-sata-kata bh(i)dati————
   Indraji— ———————Tamara-deha saṁghātaṁ

5. J—.....hasa ke (saha)-sehi vitāsayati
   B— ?s(i)kā(naṁ) sa(ha)-sehi vitāsayaṁto (*or*, vitāsayato)

   The only legible characters are *sahasehi vitāsayato*.

   The mutilated portion before that seems to indicate the agency through which Khāravela struck terror into the hearts of the kings of Uttarāpatha. It could be some feudatory tribe or his own army consisting of thousands of brave warriors. Since he was himself marching at the head of the army and there is also the word *sahasehi*, the latter seems to be more probable. Restoration beyond this suggestion is not feasible.

Line 12. ——[1] Māgadhānaṁ cha vipulaṁ bhayaṁ janeto hathasaṁ Gaṁgāya[2] pāyayati (,) Māgadha(ṁ) cha rājānaṁ Baha(sa)timitaṁ pāde vaṁdāpayati (,) Naṁdarāja-nītaṁ cha Kāliṁga-Jinaṁ saṁnives(e)....[3] (,) ...(gaha)-rata(nā)n(i) paḍīhārehi Aṁga-Magadha-vasuṁ cha neyāti[4] (.)

Line 13. ———[5] k(e)tu(ṁ) jaṭhara-lakhila-(go)purāni[6]-siharāni nivesayati sata-visikānaṁ parihārehi[7] (.) Abhutamachhariyaṁ cha hathi-nāva-nītaṁ pariharati[8]......

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[1] The obliteration could have contained words to mean "while going northwards".

[2] J—hathī Sugaṁgīya(ṁ)
B & Cunn.—hathasaṁ Gaṁgāya
Prinsep—hathasaṁ Gaṁgasa

[3] J—Naṁda rāja-nītaṁ cha Kā(li)ṁga-Jinaṁ saṁnive(sa)....
B—Nadarāja-jita-Kaliṁga-jana-saṁ(n)i(ve)saṁ.... ?(sasa)ti

Saṁnivesa should be more correctly read as *saṁnivese.*

The mutilated portion thereafter should contain the verb *pūjayati*. The composition suggests this restoration.

[4] J—....(gaha)-rata(nā)na(ṁ) paḍīhārehi
Aṁga-Magadha-vasuṁ cha neyāti
B—Kitava-naya-nipu(n)ehi Aga-Magadha-vasuṁ neyāti
Indraji—gaha-ratana-parihārehi———

The mutilated portion before *gaha* should contain *kosāta*, meaning 'from the Royal Treasury'.

[5] The description of the campaign ends in the preceding line. The mutilation before *ketuṁ* should contain words to mean 'On returning home'. The following activities relate to the capital.

[6] J—katu(ṁ) jaṭhara-l(i)khila barāni
B—tu(ṁ) ja(ṭha)ra-lakhila-(go)purāni

[7] J—sata-visikanaṁ (pa)rihārehi
B—sata-visikāna(ṁ) parihārena

[8] J—hathi-nivā(sa)-parisaraṁ
(earlier reading—hathi-nāvana)
B—hathī-nāvataṁ pariharati
Prinsep—hathi-nāvana
Cunn. —hathi-naveṇa

haya-hathi-ratana-māniko[1] Paṁḍa-rājā (chedāni anekāni)[2] muta-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sata-sa......[3]

Line 14. ———sino[4] vasīkaroti (.) Terasame cha vase supavata-Vijaya-chake-Kumārī-pavate Arahate[5] Pakhiṇa-saṁsitehi Kāya-nisīdīyāy(ā)[6] yāpujavakehi[7] Rāja-bhatin(ā) China-

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1. J—......haya-hathi-ratanā-(mānikaṁ)
   B—tiṁha-haya-hathi-ratana-māniko

   The characters before *haya* are indistinct. The context suggests that the mutilation should supply either a commodity which Khāravela should have seized alongwith horses etc. enumerated thereafter or an adverb modiying the verb *pariharati* to mean 'with little difficulty' or 'with great difficulty'.

2. J—ch=edāni anekāni
   B—(ābharanaṁ)

3. J—sat(a)......
   B—sata-sa.... (restored as *sata-sahasāni*)
   The restoration of Barua is acceptable.

4. Report of the campaign against the Pāṇḍya King continues. The mutilation should have at least contained *Paṁḍa janpada-vā.* It can be restored as

   Paṁḍa-janapada-vāsino

   i.e., 'the people of the Pāṇḍya country'.

5. J—arahayate
   B—arahate

6. J—kāya-nisīdīyāya
   B—kayya-nisīdīyāya

7. J—yapa-ñāvakehi
   (earlier reading — yāpujavakehi)
   B—yāpujavakehi
   or, yāpuravakehi
   Prinsep—yāpuhavakehi
   Cunn. —yāpujakehi

vatān(ā) Vasa-sitān(ā)[1] Pūjānurata[2]-uvāsaga-Khāravela-sirinā Jīva-deha-(siritā) parikhātā[3] (.)

Line 15. ———[4] sukata[5]-samaṇa-suvihitānaṁ cha sava-disānaṁ[6] ñaninaṁ tapasi-isinaṁ saṁghayanaṁ[7] Arahata-nisīdīyā samīpe pābhāre varākāra-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojanāhitāhi ....silāhi Siṁhapatha-rañī-Siṁdhulāya nisayāni[8] (.)

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1. J—rāja-bhitini china-vatāni vās(ā)-s(i)tāni
   B—rāja-bhitini china-vatāni vāsāsitāni

   The endings of these three words are determined by the following *sirinā*. They are the epithets of Khāravela.

2. J—pūj-anurata—
   B—pūjāya-rata—

3. J—jīva-deha-(siri)kā parikhitā
   B—jīva-deha-??kā......tā
   (restored as—jīva-deha-sayikā-parikhātā)

4. The missing portion before *sukata* should contain words to mean 'On being invited by King Śrī Khāravela'. It might be

   Nimaṁtitena (or, *āhutena*) *rājā-Siri-Khāravelena*.

5. J—sukat(ā)—
   B—? sakata

6. J }
   B } —sata-disānaṁ
   Sircar—sava-disānaṁ

7. J—ñan(i)naṁ tapas(i)-is(i)naṁ saṁghayanaṁ
   B—ñā?naṁ (sama)pasi(naṁ) bhi??-saṁgh(i)yana(ṁ)

8. J—pa si.o......silāhi Siṁhapatha-rañī-Si(ṁ)dhulāya nisayāni
   B—pakva-sisehi (*or*, panata-sisehi) sata-(sahasā)hi silāhi sipaja-thabhā-(ni)vadha-sayanā(sa)nāṁ va
   Prinsep— ——--(sapapatha)-dhara-si dhasaya

   The reading of J from *silāhi* to *nisayāni* is highly probable and I accept it as it is also supported by extraneous evidence.

   The mutilated portion between *yojanāhitāhi* and *silāhi* should supply the verb to mean 'assemble'.

continued

Line 16. ———[1]paṭalake chatare[2] cha veḍūriya-gabhe-thabhe[3] patiṭhāpayati (,) pānatariya-saṭha-sata-(va)sehi[4] mukhiya-kala-vochhinaṁ[5] cha choyaṭha-Aṁgaṁ saṁtikaṁ[6] turiyaṁ

It may also contain words to show the number of the monks assembled.

Though it is not free from doubt, *panatisatehi* can be made out after *yojanāhitāhi*. It would mean '3500' and may well indicate the total number of monks who assembled.

1. The mutilation before *paṭalake* should have contained words to mean 'In front of the Assembly Hall'.

2. J—Paṭalako chaturo

B—paṭalake chatare

Indraji } —paṭālake
Cunn. }

3. J—veḍūriya-gabhe-thaṁbhe

B—veḍuriya-gabhe-thabhe

It appears to be the traditional *Mānastambha* (Pride-melting Pillar) which was set up in front of the *Samavasaraṇa* (Preaching Hall) of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara. Such pillars are set up in front of Jain temples, particularly in sacred places. Since it was an assembly of monks, it could be appropriately set up in front of the place of assembly. This clue helps restoration before *paṭalake*.

4. J—pānatarīya sata-sahase(hi)

B—panatariya-(sata-sahasehi)

The characters other than *va* are fairly readable. There is a little space between *ta* and *se*, and *va* can be restored.

5. J—Muriya-Kāla-vochhinaṁ

B—(ma)khiya-kala-vochhine

Cunn. —……ya-kala

Indraji —Muriya-kala

6. J—choyaṭh(i) Aṁga-satikaṁ

B—choyaṭha-aṁge satikaṁ

continued

upādayati (.) Khema-rājā sa vadha-rājā[1] sa bhikhu-rājā[2] dhama-rājā pasaṁto sunaṁto anubhavaṁto[3] Kalāṇāni (.)

Line 17. ———[4] Guṇa-visesa-kusalo Sava-pāsaṁḍa-pūjako Sava-devāyatana-saṁkhārakārako[5] Apatihata-chaka-vāhana-balo[6]

Prinsep—choyaṭha agi satika
Cunn. —cheyaṭha age satika
Indraji—choyaṭha age satiku

[1] J—Vadha-rājā
B—vadha-rājā

[2] J—Bhikhu-rājā
B—bhikhu-rājā sa (,)

[3] J—pasaṁt(o) sunat(o) anubhavat(o)
B—pasaṁto sunato anubhavaṁto

Ṁ in *sunaṁto* is determined by the other two words immediately preceding and following it.

[4] The style of the epigraph strongly suggests that this mutilation should have contained the date of this record. It is the beginning of the concluding line and what follows the mutilation is the name of the king with his many epithets, apparently with no other purpose except as if he had put his signatures at the end of the notification. Khāravela is very particular in giving dates. He has noted the events of his reign regnal-year-wise. He has also given the dates of some of the major historical events like the founding of the Tamila Confederacy, the opening of the Tanasuliyavāṭā Canal and the decline of the Principal Scripture. He could certainly not leave his record incomplete by omitting the date of its recording. This date should have been in the same era in which he has given the dates of other major historical events. But unfortunately we cannot make out the recorded date due to the vagaries of Nature,

The space could have contained the syllables 'Pānatariya-panatisata-vasa', to mean 'the year 355' in M.E. which, as we shall see below, can be deduced as the date of this epigraph.

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[5] J—sava-de(v-āya)tana-saṁkhārakārako
B—sava-devāyatana sa(ṁ)kārakārako

[6] J—(a)patihata-chaki-vāhini-balo
B—apatihata-chaka-vāhana-balo

Chaka-dharo Guta-chako[1] Pavata-chako Rājasi-vaṁsa-kula-viniśito[2] Mahāvijayo Rājā-Khāravela-Siri (.)

Translation

On the basis of the above reading and proposed restorations it should be rendered into English as follows.* The restorations have been shown within [ ] and the explanatories within ( ).

"Obeisance to the Arahaṁtas !
Obeisance to all the Siddhas ! !

By the Hon'ble King, Mahāmeghavāhana, His Majesty Khāravela, the Lord of Kaliṅga, the Increaser of Cheti Royal House, (the Owner of) glorifying auspicious marks, (and) the Possessor of virtues (the fame of which has) reached the farthest limits of the four quarters,

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1. J—Chaka-dhura-guta-chako
   B—Chaka-dharo guta-chako
2. J—rājasi-Vasū-kula-viniśrito
   B—rājisi-vaṁsa-kula-vini(śr)ito, *or*, vini(g)ito
   In *viniśito* the character is more clearly *śi* than anything else. It is neither *śri* nor *gi*.

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*Jayaswal and Banerji (*E.I.*, XX, pp. 86—89) and Barua (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, 3, pp. 470—82) give different renderings. Below, J stands for Jayaswal & Banerji and B for Barua.

J—"L.1 Salutation to the Arhats (*Arihats*=lit. 'Conquerors of Enemies', *i.e.*, Jinas). Saluation to all the Siddhas. By illustrious Khāravela, the Aira (Aila), the Great King, the descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, the increaser (of the glory) of the Cheti (Chēdi) dynasty, (endowed) with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) four quarters, overlord of Kaliṅga,

L.2 for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youthsome sports ; after that (by him who) had

---

B—"Obeisance to Arhats, the Exalted Ones, obeisance to all Siddhas, the Perfect Saints.

By His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, the great Aira king, the Sovereign lord of Kaliṅga, the scion of the Mahāmegha were played for fifteen years, with a body handsome and tawny in colour, sports (worthy of) Prince.

Thereafter by the Adept in Correspondence, Currency, Accountancy, State Regulations and Laws, (and) the Clear-headed in all Sciences, (the kingdom) was administered for nine years as Crown Prince.

Then on completing the twenty-fourth year, to make the remainder of his youth prosperous by conquests, being the third in descent in the Royal House of Kaliṅga, (he) gets anointed as Great King.

And, having been anointed, in the first year (of his reign), (he) causes in the capital of Kaliṅga, (verily) the Abode of the Brave, the gates, ramparts and buildings which had been damaged by storm,

---

J— mastered (royal) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (and) who had become well-versed in all (branches) of learning, for nine years (the office of) Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) was administered. Having completed the twenty-fourth year, at that time, (he) who had been prosperous (*vardhamāna*) since his infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena,

L.3 then in the state of manhood, obtains the imperial (māhārājya) coronation in the third dynasty of Kaliṅga.

B—family, the increaser of the Cheti Royal House, who is possessed of the noble and auspicious marks, who is gifted with the attributes (of one capable) of subduing the earth extending as far as the four seas, were played for fifteen years the sports befitting the young age of the prince with a handsome body of 'fair brown complexion'. Thereafter, for nine years, just the office of a Crown Prince was administered by (His Royal Highness) who was well-versed in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, procedure, and approved principle of action, whose self was purified by proficiency in all (Indian) 'polite learning'. Having then completed twenty-four years, he who, as he waxed great, passed the rest of his manhood in making notable conquests, gained the high state implied by the coronation of a great king in the third royal dynasty of Kaliṅga, in regular linear succession.

to be repaired, and the embankments of the cool reservoir to be strengthened, and all the parks to be renovated, by (spending) thirty-five hundred thousands ; and (he) makes (his) subjects happy.

And in the second year (of his reign), paying no heed to (King) Śātakarṇi (he) sends in the western direction a multitudinous army (consisting of) cavalry, elephants, infantry and chariots, and with his army having reached the (river) Kṛishṇaveṇā, strikes terror into the capital of the Asikas.

Again, in the third year (of his reign), the Master of the Science of Music makes (the citizens of) the capital enjoy themselves by causing the performance of folk dances, (classical) dances, songs and instrumental music, and the celebration of festivals and fairs.

Likewise, in the fourth year (of his reign), (he) dwells in the Dwellings of the Vidyādharas (which) no former king of Kaliṅga had ever scathed, and makes all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas (whose) crown

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J— As soon as he is anointed, in the first (regnal) year (he) causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings (of the city), (which had been) damaged by storm; in the city of Kaliṅga (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibīra Ṛishi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns, (also) the restoration of all the gardens (he) causes to be

L.4 done at (the cost of) thirty-five hundred thousands, and, (he) gratifies the People. And in the second year (he), disregarding Sātakaṁni, despatches to the western regions an army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) and by that army having reached the Kañha-beṁṇā, (he) throws the city of the Musikas into consternation. Again in the third year,

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B— And as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year, (His Majesty) caused the Kaliṅga-city Khibīra in which the gates, walls and residential houses were damaged by stormy wind, to be repaired, and caused the embankments of the cool tanks to be made and (also) caused the work of restoration of all the gardens to be done at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and (thereby) pleased the subjects.

and caparisoned horse have been dashed to pieces, umbrella and golden pitcher have been removed and jewels and fortune have been seized, to bow down at (his) feet.

And, in the fifth bountiful year (of his reign), (he) causes the Tanasuliyavāṭā Canal (which was) opened out by the Nanda king in the year 103, to be brought into the capital [by spending...thousands].

And, having been anointed [for six years], to display (his) royal opulence (he) bestows all taxes, grants and many (other) favours (worth) hundreds and thousands upon the townsmen and villagers.

J—L.5 (he) versed in the science of the Gandharvas (*i.e.*, music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of *dapa*, dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to he held festivities and assemblies (*samājas*); similarly in the fourth year, 'the Abode of Vidyādharas' built by the former Kaliṅga king(s), which had not been damaged before...... with their coronets rendered meaningless, with their helmets (?) (*bilma*) cut in twain (?), and with their umbrellas and

L.6 *bhiṅgāras* cast away, deprived of their jewels (*i.e.*, *ratana*, Skt. *ratna*, precious objects) all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas (he) causes to bow down at his feet. Now in the fifth year he brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliya the canal excavated in the year one-hundred-and-three

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B— And in the second year, not (at all) bringing Śātakarṇi into (his) thought, (His Majesty) caused a multitudinous army (consisting of) horses, elephants, foot-men and chariots to march in a western direction, and with the aid of the army that reached (the bank of) the Kṛṣṇaveṇā (river), struck terror into the city of Asika (Musika ?).

Again, in the third year, (His Majesty) who was a master of the science of music—the Gandharva lore, caused the capital to be entertained by the display of combats, dancing, singing, and instrumental music, and (no less) by the arrangement made for festivities and convivial gatherings.

Likewise, in the fourth year, (His Majesty caused to be done his duty to) the home of the Vidyādharas, founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, which was not invaded before, compelled

And, while reigning in the seventh year, she, (that is, his) wife named Vajiragharavati, [obtains] the dignity of mother [due to] accumulated merit.

And, in the eighth year (of his reign), having stormed the invulnerable Gorathagiri (fortress) with a big army (he) oppresses the king of Rājagṛiha. And sounding aloud this act of prowess (he), along with (his) army and entourage, marches to the river Yamunā [lying in the.........]having liberated (the city of) Mathurā. [And (he) moves with satellite kings. (?)] (Here), with a Wish-fulfilling Tree burdened with foliage, and along with (his) cavalry, elephants and chariots, (he) goes [to worship the Stūpa] reverenced by all householders

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J— of King Nanda.........Having been (re-)anointed (he while) celebrating the Rājasūya, remits all tithes and cesses,

L.7 bestows many privileges (amounting to) hundreds of thousands on the City-Corporation and the Realm-Corporation. In the seventh year of his reign, his famous wife of Vajiraghara obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood......... Then in the eighth year (he) with a large army having sacked Goradhagiri,

L.8 causes pressure on Rājagaha (Rājagṛiha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimi(ta) retreated to Mathurā having extricated his demoralised army and transport.........(He) gives......with foliage,

L.9 Kalpa (Wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses. And to make

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B—all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, who were deprived of their wealth and jewels, whose royal insignia consisting of umbrellas and vases had been cast away, who were abandoned by good brahmins (?), and whose crowns were rendered meaningless, to bow down at (his) feet.

And then in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda three hundred (or 103) years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road.........

And in the sixth year, (His Majesty) while displaying his royal prosperity, bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabi-

and, having performed the Sarva-grahaṇa (ceremony), gives the community of Brāhmaṇas gifts and [worships] the Arahaṁtas.

After the well (accomplished campaign of) conquest, [in the ninth year (of his reign)], (he) builds the royal abode named Mahāvijayaprāsāda on both the banks of the (river) Prāchī by (spending) thirty-eight hundred thousands.

And, in the tenth year (of his reign), the Dispenser of War and Peace causes to be made [preparations] (for) marching forth in Bhāratavarsha to conquer the (whole) land.

J— all these acceptable (he) gives at a fire Sacrifice (?) exemption (from taxes) to the caste of Brāhmaṇas. Of Arhat......

L.10 ....(He) causes to be built......a royal residence (called) the Palace of Great Victory (*Mahāvijaya*) at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousands. And in the tenth year (he), following (the three-fold policy) of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sends out an expedition against Bharatavasa (and) brings about the conquest of the land (or, country)......and obtains jewels and precious things of the (kings) attacked.

B— tants of towns and districts by remitting all taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousands (pieces of the standard coin).

And in the seventh year, (His Majesty caused) compact groups of hundreds of horses, (portable) 'diamond chambers' and warriors (to proceed to) the tranquil spot adjoining the foot of the Samataka (hill) (?).........

And in the eigth year, having stormed with a mighty army (the fortress of) Gorathagiri of invulnerable wall, (His Majesty) brought a pressure to bear upon Rājagṛha, and the Yavana King ?mi???? retreated to Mathurā in order to release the troops and vehicles restlessly moving on account of the uproar of reprisal on his (Majesty's) part.........returned (to Kaliṅga), marched back with Kalpavṛksha, the Wishing Tree, burdened with foliage, and (the troops) of horses, elephants and chariots, (did something for) all householders, and to captivate all (he) offered the gift of victory to the Brahmins, (offered something to) the Ārhata (recluses)......

[And, in the eleventh year (of his reign)], (carrying) with (him) gems and jewels (he) moves [in the southern direction] in a slow procession and causes Pithuṇḍa, the abode of Ava kings, to be ploughed by ploughs drawn by asses, and for the well-being of (his) realm, breaks the confederacy of Tamila countries (which had been) formed in the year 113.

And, in the twelfth year (of his reign), [marching at the head of] thousands [of brave warriors], (he) strikes terror into (the hearts of) the kings of Uttarāpatha [while going northwards], and engendering great fear into (the hearts of) the people of Magadha, causes (his) elephants and horses to drink (water) in the (river) Gaṅgā, and makes the king of Magadha, (named) Bahasatimita, to bow down at (his) feet, and [worships] in the temple (enshrining the image) of Jina from Kaliṅga (which had been) taken away (from there) by the Nanda king, and having seized the family-jewels [from the treasury], carries away the riches of Aṅga and Magadha.

J— L.11 ....And the market-town (?) Pithuṁḍa founded by the Ava King he ploughs down with a plough of asses; and (he) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy of the T(r)amira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years, which has been a source of danger to (his) Country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the Uttarāpatha with..... thousands of

L.12 ....And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (he) drives (his) elephants into the Sugaṁgīya (Palace) and (he) makes the king of Magadha, Bahasatimita, bow at his feet. And (he) sets up (the image) 'the Jina of Kaliṅga' which had been taken away by King Nanda......and causes to be brought home the riches of Aṅga and Magadha along with the keepers of the family jewels of.........

B— And in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused the royal residence Mahāvijaya-prāsāda, the "Great Victory Palace", to be built on both the banks of Prāchī at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin).

And in the tenth year, well-read and experienced in the principles of policy, (His Majesty) proceeded on a campaign for the conquest of countries in Bhāratavarṣa......(?)

[On returning home], (he) cause banners to be fixed on all the firm pinnacles of the gates (of the capital) by spending two thousand. And (it is) portentous marvel (that) leading (a force of) elephants and boats (he) seizes [with little difficulty] horses, elephants, jewels and rubies from the king of the Pāṇḍyas and at this moment fetches many pearls, gems and jewels (worth) hundreds and [thousands], and subjugates [the people of the Pāṇḍya kingdom].

And, in the thirteenth year (of his reign), by the Royal Worshipper (who has) performed the vows (and is) resplendent with (supernatural) powers, the Lay Devotee (who is) addicted to worship, His Majesty Khāravela (whose) soul is dependent on body, is caused to be excavated for purposes of worship the Relic Memorial (in honour of) the Arahaṁtas (who have) cast off transmigration, on Mount Kumārī, the auspicious mountain in Vijaya circle.

[On being invited by the King, His Majesty Khāravela], the Reverend Śramaṇas (who are) self-possessed and the Jñānīs, Tapasvī-Ṛishis and leaders of Saṁghas from all directions, (coming from) many *yojanas*, [numbering thirty-five hundred, assemble] in the well-laid out quadrangle near the shrine of the Arahaṁta on the top of

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J—L.13 ....(He) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue. And wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade for driving in the elephants (he)......and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (he) causes to be brought here from the Pāṇḍya King.

L.14 ......(he) subjugates. In the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī Hill where the wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved

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B— And in the eleventh year, (His Majesty)......went in procession with jewels and gems......caused the grassy overgrowth of Pṛthudaka, founded by a former king, to be let out into the Lāṅgala (river) and destroyed the accumulation of dark swamps that grew up in thirteen-and-hundred years (and) became a cause of anxiety to the country.

And in the twelfth year, ...with the aid of thousands of the Śivis (?), (His Majesty) produced consternation among the

the hill, on the stone (platform adjacent to) the shrine (dedicated by) Queen Sindhulā (hailing from) Siṁhapatha.

[In front of the Assembly Hall] (he) causes to be set up a pale red and quadrilateral pillar inlaid with beryl, and causes to be read

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J— (*i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been preached, (he) offers respectfully royal maintenances, China clothes (silks) and white clothes to (the monks) who (by their austerities) have extinguished the round of lives, the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial. By Khāravela, the illustrious, as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (the nature of) *jīva* and *deha*.

L.15 ....bringing about a Council of the wise ascetics and sages, from hundred (*i.e.*, all) quarters, the monks (Samaṇas) of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions).........near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on

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B— rulers of Uttarāpatha, while generating an immense fear among the people of Magadha, caused the elephants and horses to drink in the Ganges, and compelled Bṛhaspatimitra, the king of the Magadha people, to bow down at his feet, (did something in connection with) the settlements of the Kaliṅga people subjugated by King Nanda,..... carried the wealth of Aṅga and Magadha with the aid of persons skilled in clever tactics,...... caused to be erected towering temples and gates with figures of the goddess of luck in their niches, procured at the cost of a hundred *viśas* (of gold) the rare and wonderful trappings of elephants, the King of Pāṇḍya, rich in mettled horses, elephants and jewels and gems supplied here hundreds and thousands of apparel (?), pearls, gems and jewels,..........subdued (some people).

And in the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī hill in the well-founded realm of Victory, were excavated the *jīvadehaśrayikās* by His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, devoted to the worship of those who depended on royal patronage, those who had fulfilled their (religious) vows, (and) those who sought shelter during the rains for use as comfortable resting places by the Ārhata (recluses), the cause of whose future gliding in the course of expeditiously the peace-giving Principal Scripture, (that is,) the Twelve Aṅgas, (which has been) gradually declining (in volume) since the year 165. He (is a) peaceful king, he (is a) wise king, (a) mendicant king (and a) righteous king (who) questions about, listens to (and) meditates upon the well-meaning scriptures.

J— the top of the hill, ...with stones.........brought from many miles (*yojanas*) quarried from excellent mines (he builds) shelters for the Siṁhapatha Queen Sindhulā.........

L.16 ....Paṭalaka (?)........ (he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl.........at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands ; (he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the seven-fold Aṁgas of the sixty-four (letters). He is the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhikshus*), the King of Religion (*Dharma*), who has been seeing, hearing and realising blessings (*Kalyāṇas*)—

B— transmigration had been greatly extenuated (and) who were (there) for fulfilling the Yāpa (Rainy Season Vow).

For the honoured recluses of well-established reputation and the Jñātṛkas (?) viewing all things alike (and) the monks(?) belonging to (different) orders (and) coming from a hundred directions, with hundreds and thousands of stones quarried out of excellent quarries (and) collected from (an area extending over) many *yojanas* by expert heads, (His Majesty caused) indeed (to be made) sleeping-and-sitting accommodations fitted with artistic pillars (?) on a slope near the Ārhata resting place, and caused the columns to be set up in a beryl-set hall with an ornamental courtyard at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and in sixty-four panels, intersected with sculptures, caused to be produced (the scenes of) peaceful music.

The king of severity was he, the king of prosperity, the king of renunciation, the righteous king, (capable) of perceiving, hearing and experiencing things that are conducive to welfare was His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, the mighty conqueror, the upholder of the realm of royal command, the protector of

[The year...... .] The Expert in extra-ordinary excellences, the Worshipper of all religions, the Embellisher of all temples, the (Possesser of the) might of irresistible army and entourage, the Bearer of the Wheel (of conquest), the Protector of the realm, (the One) whose wheel rolls on unimpeded, the Support of princely houses and families, the Great Conqueror, His Majesty Khāravela the King."

J—L.17 ....accomplished in extra-ordinary virtues, respector of every sect. the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself), descended from the family of the Royal Sage Vasū, the Great Conqueror, the King, the illustrious Khāravela."

B— the realm of royal command, the repairer of all abodes of the gods, the worshipper of all sects, accomplished by virtue of the possession of certain special qualities."

2

The Date of the Inscription and its Author

An analysis of the data presented in this epigraph gives us much valuable information not only about the personality and achievements of Khāravela, but also about the political and social conditions of the times in which he lived. The most baffling problem about him is, however, his date.

This is the earliest known inscription which mentions dates of past historical events. The Tanasuliyavāṭā canal is stated to have been opened by the Nanda King in *ti-vasa-sata* or the year 103, the Tamila Confederacy is stated to have been formed in *terasa-vasa-sata* or the year 113, and the Principal Scripture of the Jains is stated to be declining in volume since *pānatariya-saṭha-sata-vasa* or the year 165. The question arises — in what era are these dates mentioned ?

The circumstance that the inscription was incised on the occasion of a religious ceremony, lends the clue that the era of reckoning may be one connected with the religion to which the ceremony related. It leads us to assume that these dates are in the Mahāvīra Era which has been as much popular among the Jains as the *anno Domini* among the Christians or the *anno Hegirae* among the Muslims. The M.E. is said to have started from October 15, 527 B.C., the date of *nirvāṇa* or demise, the last memorable event in the life of Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras reverenced by the Jains.[1]

Taken in M.E. the above three events would fall in 424 B.C., 414 B.C., and 362 B.C., respectively.

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[1] For a discussion of the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, see Jain, Dr. J.P., *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, pp. 32-54.

A *Tīrthaṅkara* is a religious pioneer and deified saint.

The extant literary traditions of both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, the principal sects among the Jains, seem to confirm that the date for gradual decline of the canonical knowledge may be M.E. 165. According to the Digambaras as well as the Śvetāmbaras eight pontiffs after Mahāvīra possessed full canonical knowledge and the last of them was Bhadrabāhu I. The Digambaras assign a period of 162 years to these eight pontiffs, while the Śvetāmbaras assign 178 years.[1] It is possible that the period was actually 165 years since the tradition recorded in this inscription is closer to the event than any of the available literary traditions.

As for placing the event of the opening of the Tanasuliyavāṭā canal in M.E. 103 or 424 B.C., it is necessary to consider the chronology of Nanda. Nanda is twice mentioned in this inscription : he opened the canal in the year 103 and he took away the image of Jina from Kaliṅga to Magadha. It means that this Nanda was the King of Magadha. The Jain tradition unanimously places the Nandas 60 years after Mahāvīra and assigns them a rule of 155 or 150 years. This is with reference to Ujjayinī[2] and indicates that the Nanda kings of Magadha had annexed Ujjayinī in 467 B.C. The expression *Naṁda-rāja* used in the inscription also seems to indicate that it does not refer to a particular King Nanda ; it more correctly refers to a Nanda king, *i.e.*, a king of the Nanda dynasty. The Nandas continued to rule in Ujjayinī till 312 or 317 B.C., when the Mauryas dislodged them. Chandragupta Maurya's coup in Magadha is dated in *circa* 324 B.C. He may have taken some time to consolidate his position in Magadha and may have been able to extend his sway over Ujjayinī a few years later. The Maurya chronolgy does not cause any hindrance in assuming that the Nandas ruled over Ujjayinī for 155 or 150 years after 60 years from the demise of Mahāvīra.

As for reconciling this period with the history of Magadha, the seat of the Nanda imperial authority, it is significant that the Brahmanical Purāṇas assign a total of 143 years to Mahānandin, and Mahāpadma and his eight sons. On the basis of Chandragupta Maurya's accession in 324 B.C., the Nanda dynasty's rule in Magadha

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-65 (Pontifical Genealogy of Mahāvīra's Successors).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-61 (Dynastic Chronology from Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa to M.E. 1000).

ended in that year and the accession of Mahānandin took place in 467 B.C. Since the Jain and Brahmanical traditions converge on this point, Mahānandin may be taken to be the founder of the Nanda dynasty.[1]

The Buddhist tradition is firm on the point that the Buddha's death took place in the 8th year of Ajātaśatru's reign. It also assigns a total of 80 years to Ajātaśatru and his successors, *i.e.*, a total of 72 years after the Buddha. The Brahmanical tradition assigns a total of 83 years to them. The traditional date of the Buddha's demise is 544 B.C.[2] On that basis Ajātaśatru's line should

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1. The total period of 143 years for the Nanda rule in Magadha seems to be correctly represented by Mahānandin (43 years), Mahāpadma (88 years) and Mahāpadma's 8 sons (12 years). Nandivardhana (40 years) is said to have preceded Mahānandin and he is also said to have founded the Nanda line. It, however, appears that Nandivardhana and Mahānandin are identical, the latter ('the Great Nanda') being a title of the former. Al-Beruni mentions an Indian era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king. (see Sachau, E.C., *Al-Beruni's India*, II, pp. 5-7). This also seems to suggest that the Nanda take-over in Magadha might be in 467 B.C. The era might have been founded a decade later to commemorate the assumption of imperial status.
2 This is according to the oldest tradition among the Buddhists. Geiger places the event in 483 B.C. on the basis of a late Cantonese tradition. It is worth noticing that while the historians have generally placed implicit reliance on the Ceylonese Buddhist traditions for the chronological build-up of Magadha from Bimbisāra to Aśoka, they have rejected the same for the date of the Buddha himself. This has been done on the basis of Sandrokottos-Chandragupta Maurya synchronism and by computing the dates from Chandragupta's accession to and fro. Perhaps it would be better to reconcile the points of general agreement in the different sets of traditions (Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical) on the basis of certain firm points in those traditions. When worked on that method, a reasonable chronology can be drawn out for ancient India. I am inclined to support the traditional dates of the Buddha and Mahāvīra as preserved in the respective Buddhist and Jain traditions since they would hardly make a mistake on that point.

come to an end in 472 or 469 B.C. It also brings us nearer 467 B.C. for the beginning of the Nanda rule.

It appears that there was an interregnum of 3 to 5 years before Mahānandin could firmly establish himself in Magadha and soon after he launched Magadha on an ambitious career of conquest. In 424 B.C. Mahāpadma succeeded him and he appears to have led the victorious arms of Magadha into Kaliṅga and further south. The inauguration of one's reign with a campaign of conquest, has been a popular practice with ambitious monarchs throughout the world. It is also reflected in Khāravela's desire at the time of his coronation 'to make the remainder of his youth prosperous by making conquests'.

✓In the very first year of his reign, in 424 B.C., Mahāpadma conquered Kaliṅga, opened the Tanasuliyavāṭā canal there, and took away the image of Jina from Kaliṅga to Magadha. He may have marched further south and subjugated the Tamila kingdoms of the far south. This must have been quite unexpected for them and so the idea of forming a confederacy should have dawned upon them. According to the instant inscription this confederacy was formed in 414 B.C., ten years after Mahāpadma Nanda's campaign in Kaliṅga.

This confederacy arrested the southward expansion of the Magadha empire under the Nandas and after them, under the Mauryas. On the basis of the evidence afforded by the inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya it can be assumed that the Magadha empire had extended as far south as the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. This region appears to have been brought under the Magadha empire by the Nandas, most probably Mahāpadma whose depredations led the Tamilas to form a confederacy. Reference to the Nandas in the early *Saṅgam* literature, the oldest Tamil literature, lends support to this assumption.[1]

In Rock Edicts II and XIII Aśoka lists the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputras, the Keralaputras and the Tāmraparṇiyas (Ceylonese) as living to the south of his empire. They seem to represent the members of the Tamila Confederacy. The Confederacy not only held its own against the Magadha imperialism under the Nandas and

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[1] Sastri, K.A.N., *A History of South India* (2nd ed. 1958), pp. 85-86.

Mauryas, but in course of time itself became a danger to its neighbours. This is suggested by Khāravela's motive in breaking it in his 11th regnal year. He did it 'for the well-being of his realm'. And he could think of marching against the Pāṇḍya king in the 12th year only after he had broken the Confederacy in the previous year, probably through diplomatic means.

The above discussion strongly suggests that the dates mentioned in the instant inscription are in M.E.

Unfortunately the date of the epigraph itself is missing. It has already been suggested in note 4 on p. 21 ante that the mutilation at the beginning of L 17 should have, in all probability, contained it. Under the existing circumstances, however, we have to ascertain it on the basis of the contemporary data available in the inscription.

Names of two contemporaries are mentioned : Sātakaṁniṁ in the western direction, and Bahasatimitaṁ, the king of Magadha ; the former with reference to an event in the 2nd year of his reign, and the latter, to that in the 12th year. Added to this is the fact that Khāravela was the third ruler of his dynasty, the *Chedi-rāja-vaṁsa.*

It is generally accepted now that the Maurya Empire disintegrated soon after the death of Aśoka in *c.* 235-234 B.C. His grandsons Daśaratha, Samprati and Vigatāśoka seem to have divided the empire among themselves with their centres respectively in Magadha, Ujjayinī and Gandhāra. Jalauka, a son of Aśoka, also seems to have become independent in Kashmir. Taking advantage of the internecine feuds among the successors of Aśoka, some of his servants also appear to have carved out independent principalities. The examples seem to be furnished by the founder of the Sātavāhana line in the Nasik region and the founder of the Chedi line in the Kaliṅga region.

According to Prof. K.A.N. Sastri, 'the exact date of the foundation of Sātavāhana power cannot be determined, but the puranic lists suggest that the first king, Simuka, probably began to reign about 230 B.C.'[1] Dr. K. Gopalachari more surely places the event soon after Aśoka's death in *c.* 235 B.C.[2]

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[2] *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 293-328. Gurty Venkat Rao's view placing Simuka in 271 B.C. is highly improbable. No such thing could be thought of in the hey-

The Sātavāhanas have been referred to as 'Āndhrabhṛitya', which further suggests that the founder of the line was a servant of the Maurya emperors, perhaps of the rank of a Mahāmātra (member of the Imperical Service) and holding a Commissioner's or Governor's charge in the region where he proclaimed his independence, and that he originally belonged to the Āndhra region.[1] In no other way the Sātavāhanas appear to be connected with Āndhra ; all their possessions were confined to the western coast and only a very late epigraph of the 24th or 26th ruler is the earliest Sātavāhana record so far known from the Krishna district in Āndhra.

The founder of the Sātavāhana line was Simuka who is assigned a reign of 23 years. He was succeeded by his younger brother Kṛishṇa (Kanha) who reigned for 18 years. Then came Śrī Śātakarṇi whose exploits are recorded in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions of his queen Nāgānikā. He reigned for 10 years (*c.* 194-184 B.C.). He is said to have been a very powerful king who performed many sacrifices including the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha which proclaim political supremacy and ascendancy.

Two facts strongly suggest that this Śātakarṇi should be the Sātakaṁniṁ of the instant epigraph. The passage *achitayitā-Sātakaṁniṁ* indicates that Śātakarṇi was a powerful ruler with considerable influence to the west of Kaliṅga and it was really a matter of great courage not to pay any heed to him and send troops in the western direction. On the basis of the available evidence Śrī Śātakarṇi appears to have possessed such influence and power, but his namesake, the sixth ruler of the line who came 36 years after him, is not credited with any military or political exploits. The tenor of the inscription suggests that Khāravela was a man of action himself and would not have referred to anybody in such a rather deferential tone unless he was convinced of his superiority as a man of action. The

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day of Maurya imperial power under Aśoka. The political geography available in Aśoka's epigraphs also discounts such a hypothesis. (Rao in *The Early History of the Deccan*, Pt. I-VI, pp. 90 ff.).

[1] Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya has discussed the controversy as regards the home of the Sātavāhanas in the *Journal of Indian History*, XLI, III (Dec. 1963), pp. 749-55. He also holds that the Sātavāhanas were migrants to the Mahārāshṭra region.

event relates to the 2nd year of Khāravela's reign. A year later he himself marches into the Vindhyas and subdues the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, the feudatory chiefs most probably owing allegiance to the Sātavāhanas and at least under their influence. This seems to indicate that the power of the Sātavāhanas had rather suddenly declined by that time. Khāravela did not come into direct conflict with the Sātavāhanas most probably because they were remote from his dominions. This discussion leads us to the conclusion that the 2nd regnal year of Khāravela should coincide with the 10th or 9th year of Śātakarṇi's reign, *i.e.*, 184 or 185 B.C.

The other fact supporting this synchronism is that a total of 50 years had elapsed by then since the founding of the Sātavāhana and Chedi lines. The latter was founded by the grandfather of Khāravela and that much period is not improbable for the two reigns, of his grandfather and father. If this Śātakarṇi is taken to be the sixth (instead of the third) ruler of the Sātavāhana line, the beginning of whose reign is placed 18 or 36 years later, the intervening period between Khāravela's accession and the founding of the line by his grandfather would be at least 68 years or 86 years even if the 2nd year of his reign is supposed to be the very first year of that Śātakarṇi's reign. The fact that Khāravela himself was coronated at the age of 24, however, lends support to the assumption that the total period of the reigns of his grandfather and father could not have been greater than 50 years.

We may conclude that the coronation of Khāravela took place 50 years after the disintegration of the Maurya Empire at the death of Aśoka, that the first Śātakarṇi, the third ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty, was his contemporary, and that this Śātakarṇi's reign came to an end before Khāravela launched his successful campaign in the Vindhyas in his 4th regnal year. It would mean that Khāravela's reign began in *c.* 185 B.C. and the date of the instant inscription, which was recorded in the 13th regnal year of Khāravela, should be *c.* 172 B.C. or M.E 355.[1] Since there is no further record of Khāravela it is possible that his reign might have come to an end in that year. The palaeographic similarities of the instant inscription with the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions of Śrī Śātakarṇi's queen Nāgānikā, may be cited as a further supporting evidence for the above view.

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[1] It is significant that the obliteration at the beginning of L 17 is sufficient to contain *Pānatariya-panatisata-vasa* (=The year 355).

But the identification of Bahasatimitaṁ presents a more complicated problem. Twice Khāravela went to Magadha. In the 8th year he stormed the fortress of Gorathagiri, lying a few miles to the west of Rājagṛiha, the ancient capital of Magadha, but did not go further north or east. The term *Rājagṛiha-nṛipa* used in this context appears to be synonymous with the 'king of Magadha', whose name was not mentioned here since no direct contact took place with him at that time. This time Khāravela perhaps had no intention of waging a war against Magadha, and the fortress was stormed most probably as a part of strategy for securing his communications in his onward march to Mathurā. But the next time, in his 12th year, he marched into Magadha and then he came into direct contact with its king, Bahasatimitaṁ, whom he made to bow down at his feet.

Literary traditions are silent about any Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra). Numismatic evidence shows that there was a king of this name about that time. Cast coins bearing the legend 'Bahasatimitasa' have been discovered at Kosam, the site of Kauśāmbī.[1] The script is Asokan Brāhmī and is supposed to be of the same style as that of an inscription found at Morā in the Mathura district which also mentions 'Bṛihasvātimitra'.[2] On stratigraphic grounds these coins are assigned to *circa* 185-115 B.C.[3] Struck coins of Bahasatimita have also been found at Kosam and they are also assigned to 2nd century B.C.[4] Their palaeography is said to be similar to that of the Pabhosā Cave inscriptions which also mention 'Bahasatimitra'.[5]

This evidence put together indicates that there was a king named Bahasatimita in eastern India in the first quarter of the 2nd century

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1. Jagannath in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 107.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 120.
3. Sharma, G.R., *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī (1957-59)*, pp. 19, 80-85.
4. Jagannath, *op. cit.*; also, Allan, J., *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, p. xcviii.
5. *E.I.*, II, pp. 240-43; also, my book *Kauśāmbī* (Hindi), pp. 110-111, 117-118.

B.C., his dominions extended as far as the Vatsa region,[1] his mother Gopālī was the daughter of King Tevaṇiputra Bhāgavata of Ahichchhatrā, and his daughter Yaśamātā lived at Mathurā. King Tevaṇiputra Bhāgavata was the son of King Śonakāyanaputra Vaṁgapāla who appears to have founded his independent kingdom in Ahichchhatrā in similar circumstances as did Simuka and Khāravela's grandfather but about two decades later on the death of Samprati. If so, Tevaṇiputra Bhāgavata's daughter's son could be a contemporary of Khāravela and could be his adversary in his 12th year in *c.* 173 B C.

The instant inscription makes Bahasatimita the king of Magadha and it also seems to indicate that his territory included Aṅga to the east. An examination of the evidence afforded by the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* and its correlation with the information supplied by the Pabhosā Cave Inscriptions, also suggest that the Maurya dynasty in Magadha was put to an end by the confederacy of the newly formed kingdoms of Mathurā and Ahichchhatrā and that Bahasatimita who was a prince of the Mathurā house but was also the daughter's son of the then King of Ahichchhatrā, was installed as King of Magadha in *c.* 206 B.C. under the regency of an Ahichchhatrā prince.[2]

It is believed that in *c.* 187 B.C. Bṛihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, was killed by Pushymitra Śuṅga in Magadha and the latter founded the Śuṅga dynasty. On this account K.P. Jayaswal identified Bahasatimita with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, saying that Pushya was a star in the Bṛihaspati constellation. This identification has, however, not

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1. The problem of dismemberment of the Maurya Empire has been discussed in detail in my *History of Vatsa.*
2. The tradition contained in the *Yugapurāṇa* seems to suggest that the confederate forces of the Yavanas, Pañchālas and Māthuras put an end to the Maurya rule in Magadha. (ref. D.R. Mankad, 'A critically edited text of the Yugapurāṇa', *J.U.P H.S.*, XX, pp. 32-64). These Yavanas are, however, not to be confused with the hordes of Demetrius because till *c.* 200 B.C. the Seleucids were still strong and Bactria was yet a satrapy. They could at best be the mercenaries employed by the kings of Mathurā and Ahichchhatrā.

   The problem of Bahasatimita has been examined at length in my *History of Vatsa.*

been accepted. It is to be noted that no coins of Pushyamitra Śuṅga have been discovered at least in Magadha. No inscription of his or referring to him, has also been found in Magadha. In fact, no Śuṅga inscription has been found in that region.

On one point the Jain and Brahmanical puranic traditions converge that Pushyamitra came after the Mauryas. According to the former he ruled for 30 or 35 years and according to the latter, for 36 years. The Jain traditions relate to Ujjayinī. The puranic traditions cannot be definitely located. The story of the *Mālvikāgnimitra*[1] suggests that the headquarters of the Senāpati (=Pushyamitra Śuṅga) were at Vidiśā, and those of the Sachiva, in Vidarbha. This indicates that the event should relate to the Ujjayinī branch of the Mauryas. On epigraphic evidence the easternmost limit of the Śuṅga dominions appears to be Bharhut,[2] near Nagod in the Satna district. Possibly the dominions of the Śuṅgas, and at least of Pushyamitra, included only Malwa (Ujjayinī and Vidiśā) and Bundelkhand regions in central India. The mere finding of an inscription of Dhana who claims to be the sixth in descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra, at Ayodhyā is no conclusive evidence of Pushyamitra's sway in that region, more so since it does not mention that the findspot was included in his or in the Śuṅga dominions. He had an encounter with the Greeks but that took place on the Kālī Sindhu in central India ; this also lends support to the above view. According to the Jain tradition, Pushyamitra should have ruled in Ujjayinī from 204 to 174 or 169 B.C. The lower limit of his reign appears to be 169 B.C. since it would be in accord with the puranic tradition assigning him a reign of 36 years. The encounter with the Greeks appears to have taken place towards the close of his reign in view of two facts, firstly that his forces were commanded by his grandson Vasumitra[3] and secondly that according to Justin, Demetrius is placed in *c.* 178-136 B.C.[4] Khāravela does not mention him as he did not come into any contact with him in the course of any of his campaigns. The above discussion leads us to the conclusion that although Pushyamitra Śuṅga was also a contemporary of Khāravela, he was different from Bahasatimita of Magadha.

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[1] A play in classical Sanskrit by Kālidāsa.

[2] Dhanabhūti's record on the eastern gateway mentions *Suganaṁ raje* ('in the kingdom of the Śuṅgas'). (Majumdar, N.G., *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, I, p. 95.)

[3] *vide*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

[4] Justin says that Demetrius was 'king of Indians' when Eucratides was the king of Bactria and Mithridates was that of Parthia. The last named is placed in *c.* 171-136 B.C.

Thus it is possible to deduce that Khāravela should have ruled in Kaliṅga from *c.* 185 B.C. to *c.* 172 B.C. and that since our record does not record any event after the 13th year of his reign, it should have been inscribed in *c.* 172 B.C.

3

Khāravela

Personal history

The readings and constructions leave little scope for speculation about the lineage of Khāravela, yet attempts have been made to find references to the puranic Aiḷa, Chedi, Veṇa and Vasū in the inscription. It has also been said that he belonged to the third dynasty of Kaliṅga.

The passage *tatiye-Kaliṁga-rājavaṁse-purisa-yuge* clearly indicates that he was the third in descent in the royal family of Kaliṅga. *Purisa-yuga=purusha-yuga*, means 'generation',[1] and the governing *tatiye* settles that his was the third generation. He does not mention the names of his father and grandfather, and otherwise also we do not know anything about them, except the inference from this very passage that the grandfather founded the line in Kaliṅga.

The name Khāravela has been mentioned thrice in the inscription : in L 1, L 14 and L 17. At all the three places it is preceded by appropriate titles and epithets, as was the custom. The construction suggests that *Airena* (=*Āryena*=by the high-born, noble, honourable) is a mere honorific and its equation with *Aiḷena*, *i.e.*, 'descendent of Iḷa or Iḷā, father or mother of the Purūravas', is not possible. A royal honorific was necessary at the beginning of the description of the king and this purpose could not be served by *Aiḷa*. *Ārya* has been used in the meaning of 'noble, honourable, high-born' in ancient literature usually and it was also the usual form of address in the sense of 'Sir, My Lord, Your Majesty'. The word has no pretensions to the Aryan race, the way it has been used in literature.

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[1] The term occurs in the *Sukhabodhā* commentary by Devendragaṇin on the *Uttarajhayaṇa Sutta* while describing the episode of the breaking down of nine spokes of Chandragupta's chariot as the Nanda's daughter stepped into it. Chāṇakya dispelled Chandragupta's fear of a bad omen by saying that it signified that his dynasty would last nine generations (*Nava-purisa-jugāṇi tujjhaṁ vaṁsaṁ holi*). Hemachandra also uses *purusha-yugāṇi* in the same sense in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (VIII, v. 326). Both these sources are Jain.

If we leave out the epithets, the name complete with honorifics and titles would be 'Ārya Mahārāja Mahāmeghavāhana Kaliṅgādhipati Śrī Khāravela' in L 1, 'Śrī Khāravela' in L 14 and 'Rājā Śrī Khāravela' in L 17. *Mahāmeghavāhana* (lit. Indra, or 'the rider of elephant') appears to be a royal title of the kings of Kaliṅga which they assumed or earned due to the preponderance of elephants in that region. The same honorifics and titles as Khāravela's in L 1 are borne by Kūdepa whose inscription has been found in the nearby Pātālapura cave.[1]

Khāravela is the proper name. It can be equated with Sanskrit *Kshāra-vella*, meaning 'moving sharp as the wind' or 'the very cyclone'. His career as depicted in this epigraph is true to his name.

He mentions the name of his family as *Chedi-rāja-vaṁsa* which signifies that it originally belonged to the Chedi region. There is no indication for connecting it with the puranic Chedis. As already observed, the founder hailed from the Chedi (Bundelkhand) region, was posted in Kaliṅga, and took advantage of the weakness of the Maurya authority like Simuka who was posted near Nasik. Such migrations were always possible.

The passage *vadhamāna-sesa-yovanābhivijayo* in L 2 simply means 'to make the remainder of his youth (*śesha yauvana*) prosperous (*vardhamāna*) by conquests (*abhivijayo*), and there is apparently no allusion to Veṇa or his son Pṛithu. It also appears from the instant record that Khāravela never lost sight of this objective and almost every alternate year he led a campaign of conquest.

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1. *Airasa Mahārājasa Kaliṁgādhipatino Māhā*(*megha*)*vāha*(*na*)*sa Kūdepa-sīrino leṇaṁ*. (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, 1, p. 160).

The passage *Rājasi-vaṁsa-kula-viniśito* in L 17 also does not contain any reference to the puranic king Rājarshi Vasū. This epithet describes Khāravela as the 'Support or Refuge of the princely houses and families', and there is nothing unusual in it when we know of his successful expeditions against several princely houses and families.

By its very nature the record is very personal and the author does not mention even the names of any of his predecessors. The possibility of mentioning any legendary heroes is thus precluded. Literal meanings convey reasonable sense and there is no need or scope for assuming references.

An issue was born to him in the 7th regnal year. His name is not mentioned in this epigraph. The Mañchapuri cave, in front and to the south-east of Hāthīgumphā, contains three inscriptions respectively in the upper storey (Svargapuri), lower storey (Pātālapura) and a side wing of the lower storey (Yamapura), recording the dedications of the Agamahisi (Chief Queen) of Kaliṅga-Chakravarti Śrī Khāravela,[1] of Ārya Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati Mahāmeghavāhana Śrī Kūdepa, and of Kumāra Vaḍukha.[2] This cave appears to have been reserved exclusively for the members of the royal family. The issue born in the 7th year might be either Vaḍukha or Kūdepa, and it is also possible that Vaḍukha might be his childhood name and Kūdepa, the proper name which he assumed on his succession. Such instances are not unusual.

Khāravela had at least two wives, namely, Vajiragharavati who bore him a child in the 7th year (L 7) and Queen Sindhulā of Siṁhapatha (L 15). Since the latter is mentioned with the title of Queen, she appears to be identical with Agamahisi of the Svargapuri record. The location of Svargapuri is in accord with the description of Sindhulā's shrine given in our inscription and this seems to confirm the identification. We thus gather that the Chief Queen of Khāravela was named Sindhulā, she hailed from Siṁhapatha, she was the daughter of King Lalāka Hathisīha, and she followed the religion of her husband. Khāravela refers to her dedication of a shrine, which appears to be confirmed by her own Svargapuri record wherein she is said to have built *Arahaṁta-prāsādaṁ*, *i.e.*, a shrine in the honour of *Arahaṁta* for worship-purposes, as well as *leṇaṁ*, *i.e.*, cave-dwelling for *Śramaṇas* (ascetics).

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[1] *Arahaṁta-pasādāṁ Kāliṁgānaṁ-Samanānaṁ-leṇaṁ kārito* (,) *Rājino Lalākasa Hathis(ī)ha-saṁpanātasa dhutunā Kaliga-Cha(kavatino Siri-Khāra)velasa Agamahisinā kāritaṁ.* (*Ibid.*, p. 159).

[2] *Kumāro-Vaḍukhasa leṇaṁ.* (*Ibid.*, p. 161).

The opening of the epigraph with the Jain hymn of obeisance, makes its author definitely a follower of Jainism. It is also confirmed by the fact that the dates mentioned are in M.E., as we have seen above. He calls himself *pūjānurata-uvāsaga*, *i.e.*, 'a lay devotee addicted to worship.' The four-fold Jain congregation consists of monks, nuns, male lay devotees and female lay devotees, and his description of himself is thus in accord with the traditional concept. The description of the assembly is also essentially Jain.

But he was not intolerant or fanatic. Nowhere does he disparage, criticise or show disrespect to other religions. In fact, he takes pride in calling himself as *Sava-pāsaṁḍa-pūjako* (worshipper of all sects) and *Sava-devāyatana-saṁkhārakārako* (embellisher of all temples) (L 17) ; and at the *Savagahanaṁ* ceremony in Mathurā he worshipped the Arahaṁta and at the same time gave gifts to the Brahmins (L 9). This catholicity of outlook and broad liberalism was the characteristic trait of nearly all the successful Indian rulers. It is also a fact that all his expeditions were purely political and military campaigns and none of them was guided by any religious motive. N.K. Sahu's suggestion that Khāravela was a Jain by birth, *i.e.*, Jainism was his family religion,[1] appears to be acceptable.

Considerable care appears to have been bestowed upon his education. He was given training not only in Correspondence,[2] Currency,[3]

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1. *A History of Orissa*, ed. N.K. Sahu, (1st ed., 1956, Susil Gupta), vol. II, p. 329.

2. *Lekha* stands for official correspondence. Kauṭilya has dealt with the subject at considerable length (*Arthaśāstra*, trans. R. Shamasastry, 4th ed., pp. 71-75). A manual named *Lekha-paddhati* was also written in the time of the Chālukyas of Anahilapāṭana.

3. Buddhaghosa (*SBE*, XIII, p. 201) and Kauṭilya (*op. cit.*, p. 95) have also used *rūpa* in the sense of coins or currency. It broadly covers the science dealing with public finance.

Accountancy,[1] State Regulations and Laws,[2] but was also taught music and was given a liberal education covering other sciences, so as to make him an accomplished and cultivated king. He was associated with administration at the age of 15 when he was made the Yuvarāja (Crown Prince) and for full 9 years he was given practical training in administration. No epigraphic record of such meticulous training of a prince has so far come to light.

At the age of 24 he became the king. Being a Yuvarāja already, there would not have been any difficulty in succession. The word *pāpunāti* seems to suggest some trouble, but the context does not support such a suggestion and it appears to be a matter of style only. The event of his father's death has been ignored altogether, most probably because the record is too personal. Our record closes in his 13th regnal year when he was only 37 years old. Nothing is known about him after that year.

Campaigns

He led six campaigns in all, one in the 2nd year, one in the 4th year, one in the 8th year, one in the 11th year and two in the 12th year. They appear to be merely campaigns of conquest and no annexations appear to have been made except in one case. They, however, help in determining the extent of Khāravela's Kaliṅga.

The first campaign was in the western direction up to the capital of the Asikas on the R. Kaṁhabeṁnā (Kṛishṇaveṇā). The direction suggests that the Kṛishṇveṇā should be identified with the Waingaṅgā.[3]

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1. *Gaṇanā* stands for accountancy and broadly covers the science dealing with public accounts.
2. *Vavahāra* and *Vidhi* stand for laws. *Vavahāra* (=*vyavahāra*) stands for the law as defined by practice and seems to cover the mass of precedents, State Regulations and customary laws.
   Vidhi denotes the positive injunctions—the laws as they were.
   For effective dispensation of justice, knowledge of both the Code and the Regulations (which supplement the former) is essential.
3. It joins the Prāṇhitā at Sivni, which, in its turn, joins the Godāvarī near Sironch, both in the Chanda district.

   Barua supports this identification on the ground that the main tributary of the Waingaṅgā is the Kanhan which joins it in the

Its identification with the Krishṇā which flows to the south of Kaliṅga and not to the west, is incorrect. It is not possible to locate Asikanagara which probably lay across the Waingaṅgā. In fact, his army reached only the river and does not appear to have sacked or entered the town itself. Presence and manoeuvres of his army on his side of the river were sufficient to cause alarm to the people across the river. The object of the campaign appears to be exploratory in the main and it seems to indicate that the Waingaṅgā formed the western boundary of the kingdom of Kaliṅga.

The next expedition, in the 4th year, was a campaign of conquest. It was also in the western direction and was personally led by him. He crossed into the Vindhyas[1] and defeated the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas. These Raṭhikas and Bhojakas bore all the insignia of royalty, namely, crown, caparisoned horse, umbrella and golden pitcher. In the inscriptions of Aśoka the Rishṭikas and Bhojas are listed among the *aparāıās* or the people living in western India. They appear to have been autonomous tribes under the protectorate of the Maurya Empire. The Sātavāhanas coveted their friendship and did not interfere with them. Queen Nāgānikā was the daughter of a Mahāraṭhi. They seem to have been knit together in a loose confederation, enjoying all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty, and in alliance with the Sātavāhanas. Their territories seem to be interspersed in the central and western Deccan in the hilly tracts and lay between Kaliṅga and Nasik. Their confederate forces appear to have been defeated by Khāravela. It is, however, not known where the battle was actually fought. The battle was decisive and his western flank was fully secured as we do not hear of any further

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Bhandara district (*IHQ*, XIV, 3, p. 475 fn. 166), suggesting thereby that it might be known as Kanha-Wainā or Krishṇa-veṇā. I am inclined to agree with him.

[1] The Vindhyas have been referred to in the inscription as *Vijādharādhivāsaṁ* (*Vidyādhara+adhivāsaṁ*) poetically. In the Jain puranic lore these ranges are generally referred to as the abode of the Vidyādharas.

Jagannath's suggestion that it refers to some sacred place of the Jains and its violation by the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas was the immediate cause of war, (*op cit.*, pp. 113-14), is not acceptable in the context. It is a geographical term pure and simple.

expedition in that direction. As the context shows, it should have been fought somewhere in the Vindhyas, not very far from Kaliṅga, across the Waingaṅgā and below the Narmadā. There does not appear to be any exaggeration in his statement that the former kings of Kaliṅga did not go as far as the Vindhyas, and he also did not cross the Vindhyas into Malwa so as to come into contact with the Śuṅgas, or go very deep into the Vindhyas westward so as to come into direct contact with the Sātavāhanas. No annexations are claimed ; he was satisfied by making his adversaries submit to him and by seizing their jewels and fortune.

The third expedition, in the 8th year, is northward. He first mentions the storming of Gorathagiri, near Rājagṛiha. It seems to indicate that to the north the boundaries of Kaliṅga were nearly contiguous with those of Magadha. Gorathagiri was a hill fortress, serving as a defence for Rājagṛiha, the ancient capital of Magadha, and it lay in the Barābar Hills, some six miles to the west of Vaibhār Hill in Rajgir in the Gaya district of south Bihar. Its situation in the southern part of Magadha suggests the contiguity of the southern boundaries of Magadha and the northern boundaries of Kaliṅga. Khāravela did not go further into Magadha and seems to have turned westward to Mathurā. The storming of this fortress was merely a strategic measure to secure his communications in the rear in his onward march.

Since he claims to have reached the Yamunā after liberating the city of Mathurā, he appears to have marched through the tract lying below the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. It was not intractable. A battle appears to have been fought near Mathurā. It is suggested by *vipamuṁchitu* ('having liberated'). But the name of the adversary, who appears to have been an aggressor, is not mentioned. It has been sought to read *Yavana-rāja Dimita* and to identify him with Demetrius. In the note on the text it has already been indicated that this reading is highly doubtful and the reading more appropriately appears to be *Yamanā-nadīṁ*. The event took place in *c.* 178 B.C. and if Justin is to be believed, Demetrius should have come at least seven years later. It may be that there was some depredation from the north or from any of the neighbouring kingdoms and Mathurā was temporarily occupied by the aggressor, and Khāravela drove out the aggressor and restored Mathurā to its legitimate ruler. It was a mere act of chivalry. Mathurā was not annexed, and therefore on liberation it should have been returned to its rightful owner. His further activities in Mathurā were confined to performing religious ceremonies.

The real campaigns of conquest were yet to follow, and preparations for these were made in the 10th year. For the next two years he remained busy in these campaigns, marching to the south, then to the north, and again to the south. His ambition was to conquer the whole country and live up to the ideal of a *Chakravartin.*[1] This is the earliest epigraphic record mentioning the name of the country as Bhāratavarsha (*Bharadavasa*).[2]

Having made the necessary preparations in the 10th year, he first marches to the south, in the 11th year, and sacks Pithuṇḍa, the metropolis of Ava kings. Pithuṇḍa can be identified with Pityndra, mentioned by Ptolemy as the metropolis of Maisolia and the Arvarnoi.[3] It lay in the interior of Maisolia, the coast between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā. It has been suggested that possibly it did not lie very far from Vijayapuri (of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription), Amarāvati and Vijayawāda, in the heart of ancient Āndhrapatha.[4] Exact location is not known. The Arvarnoi of Ptolemy may be identical with the Ava people, or else *Ava* is a misreading for *Aṁdha*, meaning the Āndhra kings in the context, which is not quite impossible.

The southern boundary of Kaliṅga appears to be the Godāvarī. The manner in which Khāravela marches to Pithuṇḍa, shows that it could not be very far from Kaliṅga and must be somewhere near the southern border across the Godāvarī. The way in which it was sacked, seems to indicate that the Pithuṇḍa kingdom was annexed and the southern boundary was extended as far as the Kṛishṇā. Khāravela was now face to face with the Tamila Confederacy which he set out to break 'for the well-being of his realm'. He claims to have broken the Confederacy, but does not mention to have marched further south and it indicates that the Confederacy was broken through diplomacy rather than warfare. The Cholas[1] were probably the northern-most member of the Confederacy, whose territory lay between the Pithuṇḍa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. They seem to have been won over and he was thus enabled to march forth to the Pāṇḍya kingdom the following year.

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[1] *i.e.*, supreme over-lord. This ideal is common to all the Indian traditions. According to the Jain tradition, there have been 12 Chakravartins who had conquered the whole earth, and the first among them was Bharata, the son of Ṛishabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. (see *Mahāpurāṇam*, *Triśashṭiśalākāpurushacharita*).

[2] In the Jain tradition Bharata, the son of Ṛishabha, is credited with giving the country this name, while in the Brahmanical tradition Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā immortalised in the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalaṁ* of Kālidāsa, is also credited with it.

[3] *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, ed. S.N. Majumdar, pp. 67-68, 185.

[4] H.C. Raychaudhuri in *The Early History of the Deccan*, Pt. I-VI, p. 56. It is also identified with Pihuṇḍa mentioned in the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, which, however, does not help in locating it.

In the 12th year he led two expeditions : one to the north and the other to the south. He marched forth into Magadha up to the Gaṅgā[2] and obtained the submission of the Magadha king Bahasatimita. Although the name of Pāṭaliputra is not mentioned the reference is evidently to that city which lay on the Gaṅgā, and had continued to be the capital of Magadha at least since the days of the Nandas. The fact that he worshipped in the temple which enshrined the image taken away by the Nanda king from Kaliṅga, seems to indicate it.

He simply claims to have struck terror into the hearts of the kings of Uttarāpatha (*Utarāpadha*), which means that he did not come into contact with any other king of North India and did not go beyond Magadha. Here Uttarāpatha has been used in the common sense of the term, meaning North India. Two broad divisions of the country have been Uttarāpatha and Dakshiṇāpatha, the former referring to the region lying to the the north of the Vindhyas and the latter, to that lying to the south of the Vindhyas. An inference to the north-western region beyond Pṛithudaka (near Thanesar) cannot be drawn from Uttarāpatha here as the context does not at all support it.[1]

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[1] Aśoka mentions the Pāṇḍyas after the Cholas. The Pāṇḍyas have also been associated with Madurā on the R. Waigai from very ancient times, while the Cholas have been associated with Tanjore on the R. Cauveri, which lies to the north of Madurā.

[2] The reading is *hathasaṁ Gaṁgāya pāyayati*, *i.e.*, he makes his elephants and horses (*hathasaṁ=hasti+aśvam*) drink in the Gaṅgā. There is no reference to the Sugāṅgya palace, as supposed by Jayaswal and Banerji (*E.I.*, XX, p. 88 f. n. 8). This name of the palace of Chandragupta Maurya is mentioned only in a very late work of fiction, the *Mudrārākshasa*, and it is not mentioned in any of the traditional accounts or epigraphic recor

After the successful expedition against Magadha in the north, he marched against the Pāṇḍyas, perhaps the most powerful member of the Tamila Confederacy, in the south. He calls his victory against the Pāṇḍyas 'a portentous marvel',[2] and this seems to indicate the power of the Pāṇḍyas. The operation against the Pāṇḍyas appears to have been two-fold, *i.e.*, military as well as naval. Elephants formed the task-force on land and boats were used on the sea. This is the earliest epigraphic reference to the use of boats for war purposes, and it seems to confirm the overseas activities of the Kaliṅga people.[3] Khāravela is, however, not known to have led any overseas expedition although he maintained a fleet of war-ships.

Dominions

The kingdom of Kaliṅga as inherited by Khāravela appears to have comprised the entire territory known as Tri-Kaliṅga, including Utkala, Tosala and Kaliṅga.[4] It was bounded on the north by the

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[1] Jagannath (*op. cit.*, p. 114, f.n. 3) also takes it to have been used in a general way for North India.

[2] *Abhutamachhariyaṁ = adbhutam + āścharyam*, or *abhūtam + āścharyam*. In both the cases the meaning remains the same.

[3] See Mazumdar, B.C., *Orissa in the Making*, and Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy*, pp. 119-39. "Kaliṅga had built up a great overseas empire and spread her colonies as far as Philippine islands in the east and far south into the islands of the Indian Archipelago" (Sahu, N.K., ed., *A History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 62).

[4] Utkala lay between the rivers Dāmodar and Brāhmani, Uttara Tosala between the Brāhmani and the Mahānadī, Dakshiṇa Tosala or Koṅgoda between the Mahānadī and the Vansdhārā, and Kaliṅga between the Vansdhārā and the Godāvarī (*vide*, Banerji, R.D., *History of Orissa*, vol. I, map opp. p. 49).

R. Dāmodar, beyond which lay Magadha ; on the west by the R. Waingaṅgā, beyond which lived the Asikas and the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas ; on the south by the R. Godāvarī, beyond which lay the Pithuṇḍa kingdom and the Tamiḷa countries ; and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. Khāravela appears to have annexed the Pithuṇḍa kingdom. The total annihilation of Pithuṇḍa signified by its being ploughed by ploughs drawn by asses, seems to suggest annexation. The boundaries were thus extended up to the R. Kṛishṇā in the south. All other expeditions of his were aimed at obtaining formal submission and allegiance so as to secure his frontiers.

The capital of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṁga-nagari*) should lie somewhere on the R. Prāchī on both banks of which Khāravela built the Mahāvijayaprāsāda. It should not be very far from the sea coast since it is stated to have been ravaged by a cyclone. The name of the city does not appear to have been mentioned. *Khibīraṁ* is merely its adjective, meaning 'the Abode of the Brave' (*Kshi* : dim. of *Kshiti* : +*vīram*). It appears to have been a custom in Kaliṅga and the neighbouring region to name the capital after the name of the people, region or kingdom, *e.g.*, the capital of the Asikas was called Asikanagara, the principal city in the Tosala region was called Tosali, and similarly the capital of the Kaliṅga kingdom was called Kaliṅganagari.

It has been sought to identify it with either Dhauli or Śiśupālagarh.[1] Dhauli lies in the Puri district, on the metalled road from Cuttack to Puri, a little distant from the R. Prāchī. A set of Aśoka's Rock Edicts, including the Kaliṅga Edicts addressed to the Mahāmātras of Tosali and Samāpā, has been found inscribed on a low hill there and near that there is an open stretch of land of ancient habitation extending up to the river. It represents the site of Tosali since *Tosali* can be phonetically corrupted into *Dhauli*, and also because it lies in the Tosala region which covered the Mahānadī delta and extended up to the R. Vansdhārā to the south. It is possible that Khāravela's grandfather was the Mahāmātra of Tosali. There seems to be strong indication that Tosali was not adopted as the capital of the newly founded kingdom, but a site nearby, which was just on the banks of the river, was chosen for the new capital. The exact location

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1. The suggestion that it might be Kalingapattam in the Srikakulam district (*E.I.*, XX, p. 83 f.n. 19), is not worth considering since it does not answer to the description given in the inscription.

of the Tansauliyavāṭā canal is not known, but the context seems to suggest that it was brought into the capital from a nearby place, most probably from the old town of Tosali into the new capital.

Śiśupālagarh lies 1½ miles east-southwest of Bhubaneswar and 6 miles to its west-northwest are the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills. According to B B. Lal, a presumption is raised in favour of its being identical with Khāravela's Kaliṅganagari on the following pieces of circumstantial evidence: no fortified town of comparable date except Śiśupālagarh is known to exist near about the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills, and the excavations did reveal a collapse and subsequent repair of the southern gateway-flank of the fortifications which seems to confirm Khāravela's statement that he got repaired the gateway and fortification-wall which had been damaged by a storm.[1] The upper limit of the site is placed at *c.* 300 B.C., its Early Period being 300-200 B.C., Early Middle Period 200 B.C.-100 A.D.,Late Middle Period 100-200 A.D. and Late Period 200-350 A.D. It is difficult to support this presumption in view of the fact that Kaliṅganagari must be on the Prāchī and Śiśupālagarh does not fulfil that condition. Its proximity with the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri is not so relevant in the context. The fortress may have served the same defence purposes for the old town of Tosali as well as the new capital, as were served by Gorathagiri for Rājagṛiha.

The new capital was a walled town, with gates having pinnacles on which were flown the royal banners. It had cool reservoir and parks. It probably suffered from scarcity of water and so Khāravela brought the Tanasuliyavāṭā canal into it. He also added to its beauty by building the Mahāvijayaprāsāda on both banks of the Prāchī at a cost of 38 lakhs.[2] The two portions of the palace appear to have been linked through bridges. It should have been a beautiful thing and a marvel of engineering for those times but in the absence of any physical remains, as also any reference in literature, it is not possible to catch a glimpse of it.

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1. 'An early historical fort in Eastern India', *Ancient India*, No. 5 (Jany. 1949), pp. 66-67.
2. The plural ending of *sahasehi* (*sahasrāni*) clearly points to the cost as 'thirty-eight hundred thousands'. There is, however, no information as to the name or value of the standard in which this amount has been denoted. The finding of a silver punch-marked coin from the filling forming the terrace in front of the Hāthīgumphā (*I.A.-R.*, 1961-1962, p. 321), might suggest that the costs were mentioned in terms of silver coins current in those days.

4

Socio-Political Conditions

Literary prescriptions about the education, training and accomplishments of princes in ancient India are amply confirmed by this epigraph. Sports, Correspondence, Currency, Accountancy, State Regulations and Laws, Music, Diplomacy and War, appear to have been the compulsory subjects of study. General education was also imparted to cover other subjects. Practical training in administration was also imparted through active association before the reins of government were actually handed over.

The two objects of kings appear to have been to make conquests and to make their subjects happy. The numerous literary references to the duties of kings are hereby confirmed through epigraphic evidence.

The traditional four-fold division of army into cavalry, elephants, infantry and chariots, was in vogue. Navy was also maintained by the coastal kingdoms.

Crown, caparisoned horse, umbrella and golden pitcher[1] were the accepted insignia of royalty, and the kings were believed to possess auspicious marks.

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[1] These have been mentioned in connection with the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas. *Makuṭa* (*mukuṭa*) is crown, *chhata* (*chhatra*) is umbrella, and *bhiṁgāra* (*bhṛiṅgāra*) is golden pitcher. *Sabiladhite* seems to stand for 'caparisoned horse'. *Bila* means Indra's horse Uchchaiḥśravas in particular, and horse in general. With *sa* (=*su*=well) and *dhite* (=*dhṛite*=maintained), it would mean 'well maintained horse', and in the context it may be translated as 'caparisoned horse'.

Works of public welfare were executed by the state. At least two irrigation projects of ancient India are definitely known: the Tanasuliyavāṭā canal in Kaliṅga and the Sudarśana lake in Saurāshṭra. The former was carved out by the Nanda king some 2395 years ago (in 424 B.C.) and extended by Khāravela 244 years later (in *c.* 180 B.C.), while the latter was executed by Chandragupta Maurya some 2283 years ago (in 312 B.C.), about 127 years prior to Khāravela, in West India and it has a recorded history of additions and alterations by successive rulers for about 700 years. We do not know anything about the Kaliṅga project after Khāravela, yet it has a history of more than 250 years.

Festivals and fairs[1] were organised by the state to entertain the people. Performances of folk dances, classical dances, songs and instrumental music[2] were also organised.

It also appears to have been customary to show off royal opulence[3] and on that occasion to remit taxes, bestow grants and sanction other favours to the people. Khāravela did it in his 6th regnal year.

Some distinction between the townsmen and the villagers appears to have subsisted in the matter of taxes etc. It also appears that Kaliṅga in the time of Khāravela contained several towns.

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[1] *Usava* (=*utsava*=festival) and *samāja* (an assemblage for merry-making, *melā*, convivial gathering, fair) have been used in a secular sense. The former was accompanied by public feasting while the latter, by various items of amusement. Numerous references to *samāja* are found in the *Mahābhārata* and the Buddhist literature. Aśoka also refers to it in his R.E. I. From the Sīgālovādasutta we learn that *nachchaṁ* (dances), *gītaṁ* (songs), *vāditaṁ* (music), *akkhānaṁ* (dramatics), *pānisaraṁ* (cymbals) and *kumbhathūnaṁ* (pitcher-dances), used to take place in the *samājas*.

[2] Khārāvela mentions the performances of *dapa*, *nata* (*nṛitya*), *gīta* and *vādita*. The last two stand for music, vocal and instrumental respectively. Likewise, the first two stand for dances, folk and classical respectively. The context does not allow the intepretation of *dapa* as acrobatics or combats. All the four should relate to the *gandharva-vidyā*.

[3] *rājaseyaṁ*=*rājaśrīyāṁ*.

Polygamy was in vogue. The title of *Agamahisi* (*Agramahishī*) for one of his queens clearly indicates that Khāravela had more than one wife. The wife who bore children appears to have been given added honour or endearment, as may be inferred from the way in which the event of the 7th year is mentioned. Khāravela endearingly calls her *Gharini* (*Gṛihiṇī*), *i.e.*, 'housewife'.[1]

The ploughing of a metropolis by ploughs drawn by asses appears to have been the sign of complete annihilation of its ruler.[2]

Political alliances in the form of confederacies were in vogue, *e g.*, the confederacy of the Tamila countries, as also that of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas.

It was customary to give the Brahmins gifts on ceremonial occasions.

Image worship was in vogue and temples were built at least in Kaliṅga and Magadha in Khāravela's times.

The land of the Pāṇḍyas was rich in jewels, gems, pearls and rubies. Beryl was known.

No precise information is available as regards the administrative set up under Khāravela. The dedicatory inscriptions in the nearby caves,[3] which are palaeographically of the same age, seem to contain the names of some of his officers. They are : Nagara-akhadaṁsa Bhūti (Vyāghra-gumphā), Kaṁma Halakhiṇa (Sarpa-gumphā), Chūlakama (Sarpa-gumphā and Pāvana-gumphā), Mahāmada (=Mahāmātra) Bāriyāya Nākiya (Jambeśvara-gumphā), Atasukha-pradinaka (Chhoṭā-Hāthīgumphā), and Pādamulika Kusuma (Tattva-gumphā No. II).[1] It appears that at least two classes of officers, *viz.*, Mahāmātra and Nagara-viyohālaka (Nagara-akhadaṁsa) of the Maurya set up continued under the new kingdom of Kaliṅga.

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[1] The alternative reading *Vajiraghara-khatiyā-sati-gharini* would mean 'faithful wife Vajiraghara Kshatriyā.' In the adopted reading the meaning is 'wife named (*ghusita*—$\sqrt{\overline{ghush}}$) Vajiragharavati'.

[2] According to Haribhadra (*Āvaśyakavṛitti*) and Hemachandra, Kuṇika (Ajātaśatru) also ploughed Vaiśālī with ploughs drawn by asses after defeating the Lichchhavis. (*JBORS*, XIII, p. 231).

[3] see *E.I.*, XIII, and *I.H Q.*, XIV, 1, pp. 161-66. In these inscriptions *leṇa* has been used in the meaning of cave-dwelling excavated for the residence of the *Śramaṇas*, *pasāda* (*prāsāda*) in that of shrine for worship purposes, and *koṭhājeyā* in that of circumambulatory path around the *pasāda*.

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[1] All these caves except the last named are on the Udayagiri. The Tattva-gumphā No. II is on the Khaṇḍagiri.

5

Jainism

The significance which the Bhabru Edict of Aśoka has for Buddhism, the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela has for Jainism, perhaps even more since it seems to preserve and confirm traditions and does not merely serve to demonstrate that its author was a follower of Jainism.

The *Pañcha-namaskāra*, or the Five-fold Obeisance, hymn of the Jains reads :

Ṇamo Arahaṁtāṇaṁ, Ṇamo Siddhāṇaṁ, Ṇamo Āiriyāṇaṁ,

Ṇamo Uvajjhāyāṇaṁ, Ṇamo loe savva Sāhūṇaṁ.[1]

Its antiquity is lost into oblivion. It is found in the most ancient Jain literature available, and appears to have had the same significance for the Jains as '*Buddham saraṇam gachchhāmi, Dhammam saraṇam gachchhāmi, Saṁgham saraṇam gachchhāmi*' has had for the Buddhists. Our inscription begins with *Namo Arahaṁtānaṁ Namo sava Sidhānaṁ* and serves as the earliest preserved record for this hymn in its traditional form.

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[1] *Arahaṁta* (who has cast off transmigration), *Siddha* (the Released, *i e.*, the perfect soul in the stage after *nirvāṇa*), *Āchārya* (master of spiritual knowledge), *Upādhyāya* (teacher of spiritual knowledge) and *Sādhu* (ascetic), are recognised as deserving supreme veneration (*Parameshṭhi*).

Among the Jains, *Arahaṁta* is not the common term for ascetics. The ascetics are called *Samaṇa* (*Śramaṇa*), *Sāhū* (*Sādhu*), or *Muni*. It is amply clear from this inscription and the inscriptions in the nearby caves that shrines were built in the honour of the *Arahaṁta*, while cave-dwellings were excavated for the use of the *Śramaṇas*.

The term *Arahaṁta* has been explained in L 14 and this is also the earliest preserved record of such an explanation. *Arahaṁta* are they who have cast off transmigration (*pakhiṇasaṁsitehi*=Skt. *prakshipta saṁsṛitāḥ*). Kunda-kunda, reputed to be one of the earliest Jain authors whose works have been handed down to the posterity and assigned to the early part of the 1st century A.D., defines *Arahaṁta* as follows :

> *Jara-vāhi-jamma-maraṇaṁ cha-u-ga-i-gamaṇaṁ cha puṇṇapāvaṁ cha.*
> *Haṁtūṇa dosakamme huu ṇāṇamayaṁ cha Arahaṁto.*[1]

Kunda-kunda appears merely to elucidate what Khāravela has explained.

The Jain congregation is four-fold, consisting of monks, nuns, male lay devotees (*uvāsaga*=Skt. *upāsaka, śrāvaka*) and female lay devotees. The *uvāsaga* should, according to Khāravela, perform the vows and be addicted to worship. Twelve vows are prescribed in the Scripture for the *uvāsaga* or *śrāvaka*, and here again our inscription seems to corroborate the textual lore. The belief that the performance of the prescribed vows makes one resplendent with supernatural powers,[2] was not unnatural.

There is also a reference to duality of soul (*jīva*) and matter (*deha*) in the passage '*jīva-deha-siritā*'. The Jains recognise two categories as *jīva* (soul) and *ajīva* (non-soul). Soul is independent, with a separate entity altogether, and is not to be identified with the body (*deha*), a form of matter (*pudgala* which is *ajīva*), in which it is contained for the time being. Khāravela's statement that his soul is

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1. *Kunda-kunda Prābhṛita Saṁgraha*, ed. K.C. Shastri, p. 90. It means : The *Arahaṁta* is he who has attained enlightenment, having destroyed the evils of old age, disease, birth, death, transmigration, merit and sin, and the *karmas*.
2. The terms *rāja-bhatinā* (*rāja-bhaktinaḥ*) and *china-vatānā* (*chīrṇa-vratānaḥ*), occurring in L 14, help in determining the sense of the following *vasa-sitānā*. Literally it would be *vas* (=grow bright) +*sita* (=white), and in the context it seems to suggest 'resplendent with supernatural powers'.

dependent (*siritā*=Skt. *āśrita*) upon body, is quite in accord with the Jain concept.

He also defines *Śramaṇa* as *suvihita* or self-possessed. *Śramaṇa* is the general term for Jain monks. Kunda-kunda defined a Jain monk in the following terms :

Dehādisaṁgarahio māṇakasāehiṁ sayalaparichatto.
Appā appammi rao sa bhāvaliṁgī have sāhū.[1]

It is again an amplification of Khāravela's definition·

The order of the monks appears to have consisted of different grades which are mentioned in a descending order. First come the Śramaṇas who appear to have been quite unconcerned with all mundane affairs, then come the Jñānīs who appear to have been masters of the Scripture, next come the Tapasvī-Ṛishis who appear to have laid more stress on penance, and lastly come the Saṁghiyanas, or the leaders of the Saṁghas, who by the very nature of their work were concerned with organisational matters more particularly, and therefore were the less detached from mundane affairs as compared to the other three. This is the earliest recorded evidence of the existence of different Saṁghas of the Jain monks.

In his 13th regnal year in *c.* 172 B.C. Khāravela convened a Council of Jain monks. No mention of it is found in the literature of either the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jains possibly because it relates to a period till when the schism had not been finalised and the main object of its meeting was to avert the schism and attempt reconciliation. Since it was not palatable to the later protagonists of the two sects they thought it better to ignore and forget it. While disagreeing on the fundamentals, they seem to have agreed on this piece of practical wisdom. There was a school in Mathurā which tried to keep away from schismatic tendencies till about the beginning of the Christian era, and it might have preserved the memory of this Council, but no literature of this school has come to light. It seems to have been represented by the *Ārātiya yatis* or the *Yāpaniyas*.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 125.

It means : Only he is an ascetic in reality who does not possess any physical belongings, has completely cast off ego or pride, and is totally absorbed in his self (soul, *appā*=*ātmā*).

The Council met on the Mt. Kumārī (the Udayagiri hill, the findspot of the instant record near Bhubaneswar), which was somehow considered auspicious[1] and lay in the Vijaya district. It appears to have been a well-attended assembly in which 3500 monks from all directions joined. The site of the assembly was the quadrangle near the shrine of the Arahaṁta on the top of the hill. This shrine was on the roof of the Hāthīgumphā on the face of which our record is inscribed. The quadrangle consisted of the stone platform adjacent to the shrine dedicated by Queen Sindhulā. As we have already seen above, Sindhulā's shrine was the upper storey of the Mañchapuri which lies in front and to the south-east of the Hāthīgumphā, and seems to fully fit in the description.

In front of the Assembly Hall was set up a pale-red and quadrilateral pillar inlaid with beryl, apparently to serve as a replica of the *Mānastambha*, in accord with the traditional description of *Samavasaraṇa* (the Preaching Hall of Tīrthaṅkara). At the Council the Principal Scripture was given a reading. This is again in accord with the traditional description of Jain Councils as *Vāchanā* (Reading), found in literature.

The excavations have revealed the remains of an apsidal structure just overlying the Hāthīgumphā. It has an axial length of 78 feet 1 inch and a basal width of 46 feet. It was built of large laterite blocks, 8 courses of which were visible. The circular structure towards the apse might be a stūpa or just a round platform on which the object of worship was placed. All this is in perfect accord with what the inscription says about the Relic Memorial (*kāya-nisīdīyā*) excavated by Khāravela.

Further, the excavations have also revealed an ancient imposing ramp built of laterite blocks. It is 3 metre wide, rises from the foot of the hill and reaches the terrace of the Hāthīgumphā, and is supported on either side by retaining walls. It is wedge-shaped in plan, showing greater width near the head than at the tail. This ramp seems to represent the quadrilateral pillar mentioned in the inscription.

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1. In L 14 *supavata* (*su*[dim. *śubha*]+*parvata*) is an adjective of *Kumārī Pavata* (*Parvata*). The locative endings of *chake* and *pavate* settle the meaning.

At a certain distance from the bottom of the ramp there are two walls at right angles to support the filling below terrace in front of the Hāthīgumphā in sandstone and laterite. The dexter wall is of sandstone and is prominently battered ; it is discernible up to the original steps leading to the cave which contains the inscription of the Chief Queen. Carved stone railings and upper part of a female statue in sandstone have been found near the steps. The railings might have embellished Sindhulā's shrine.

The archaeological evidence[1] put together suggests that the shrine over the Hāthīgumphā, the ramp in front of it and the cave to which the dexter wall leads, were the product of a single building activity. It thus confirms the epigraphic evidence as interpreted above about the location of the shrines of Khāravela and Sindhulā as well as of the site for the assembly of monks.

The Jain tradition is firm on the point that the Principal Scripture consisted of Twelve Aṅgas. It is generally referred to as the *Dvādaśāṅga-Śruta* in literature. This is also tacitly confirmed by Khāravela who calls it *Choyaṭha Aṁgaṁ, i.e.*, 4+8=12 Aṅgas. He also records that the Principal Scripture[2] had been gradually declining in volume since M.E. 165. This is also in accord with the tradition as already discussed above. The object of the Council was apparently to collect and preserve the remaining canon.[3] Such an attempt had already been made a few decades ago by the Buddhists under the patronage of Aśoka in Magadha.

The institution of worship was present among the Jains. Four types of structures appear to have been built for purposes of worship : *Kāya-nisīdīyā* or Relic Memorial in the honour of the Arahaṁtas (one was excavated by Khāravela himself), *nisiyā* or *chaitya*-type structure forming part of monastery (one dedicated by Sindhulā), *thūpa* or *stūpa* (worshipped by Khāravela in Mathurā), and *saṁnivesa* or temple housing an image of Jina or Tīrthaṅkara (where he worshipped while in Magadha in the 12th year).[1]

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[1] *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, pp. 38-40, and 1961-62, pp. 36-37.

[2] *Mukhiya-Kala*=*Mukhya-Kala*=Principal Utterance, *i.e.*, the Principal Scripture as uttered by the last Tīrthaṅkara Kevalin Mahāvīra. It is also called *Śruta*, *i.e.*, the knowledge as heard from the Tīrthaṅkara Kevalin.

[3] Dr. J.P. Jain traces the origin of the Sarasvatī Movement, *i.e.*, the movement for the redaction of the canonical knowledge among the Jains, to this Council convened by Khāravela. *op. cit.*, p. 117).

The data recorded in the inscription also suggests that image worship was prevalent among the Jains in Kaliṅga in 424 B.C. when the image of Jina was taken away by the Nanda king, that Jainism was the personal faith of the king of Kaliṅga and his family, whom the Nanda king had defeated, and that the Nanda king was himself a follower of Jainism since otherwise he would not have taken away the image and installed it in a temple in his capital.

Mathurā appears to have been a centre of Jainism in those days and there existed the age-old Stūpa, as suggested in the note on the text. Here Khāravela performed the *Savagahanaṁ* ceremony, which was preceded by a procession along with the *Kalpa-vṛiksha* (Wish-fulfilling Tree) and was followed by gifts to the Brahmins and worship of the Arahaṁta. No such ceremony appears to be mentioned in literature. *Sava-gahanaṁ*=Skt. *Sarva-grahaṇam* can mean both 'All acquisition' and 'All eclipse'. The latter appears to fit more appropriately into the context. It seems to suggest that for a time, however short, till the ceremony lasted, he voluntarily eclipsed and withdrew from mundane affairs.

The inscription also contains four symbols ; one to the left of L 1-2, the second to the left of L 3-5, the third at the end of L 3, and the fourth at the end of L 16-17. The second and third symbols are respectively Svastika and Nandipada or Nandyāvarta.[1] They are counted among the eight auspicious things required at the time of worship among the Jains. As for the first and fourth symbols which are respectively placed at the beginning and the end of the record, they do not appear to be religious symbols and perhaps represent the royal style of beginning and closing a record by appropriate sealings. Taken in that light the first symbol is probably a replica of crown and the fourth, that of royal standard.

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[1] Two torsos of naked Jain images were recovered from Lohanipur near Bankipur, Patna. These images might have been installed in that shrine. The Mauryan polish on the larger torso seems to refer to its origin in the Maurya period. The smaller torso, though identical in appearance, style and material, does not have the Mauryan polish, and thus may be earlier in date and possibly represent the Jina image brought from Kaliṅga in the pre-Maurya period.

Jayaswal thought that a silver punch-marked coin found together with the torsos on the same level, was of a variety that preceded the Mauryan coinage (*J.B O.R.S.*, XXII, pp. 130-32). If so, it would indicate that the shrine where these images were installed, was a pre-Mauryan structure.

The custom of excavating caves for the use of monks was also prevalent among the Jains, as is evident from the inscriptions in the nearby caves.

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[1] Svastika and Nandyāvarta have been found portrayed on many Jain Āyāgapaṭṭas of about the beginning of the Christian era, found from Mathurā and other sites. See Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 109-12.

6

Epilogue

Before we conclude, it may be added that Khāravela has not mentioned the Mauryas simply because there was no occasion for it and no inferences can be drawn from this omission. He has mentioned the others only in a context where it was found absolutely necessary to do so since his purpose was not to give a detailed chronological history of Kaliṅga or even of his own dynasty.

The language of the record is Prakrit and the script is Brāhmī. When compared with the records of the Sātavāhanas and other contemporary records, a very curious fact is revealed that 2150 years ago there was no linguistic or scribal controversy in India. This is also the earliest record written in the *kāvya* style so far discovered.

The variety of information preserved in this record gives it a unique place among the sources of history. Such synchronistic, corroborative and authentic information is yet to be found in an epigraph. The evidence preserved in it may help in clearing quite a few of the historical myths created during the last few decades.

Khāravela is firmly and surely placed on the historical map of India. He was the first historical king from the eastern coast to lead such extensive campaigns, and appears to be a more rightful claimant to the glory that has hitherto been given to Samudragupta who came more than 500 years after him, in disregard or ignorance of the data preserved in this record.

SECTION II

THE BHABRU EDICT OF AŚOKA

1

Discovery, Text and Translation

The Bhabru Edict of Aśoka was a chance discovery of one Captain Burt of the late East India Company. It was found inscribed on a detached boulder on the top of the Bījak Pahār on the back of the town of Bairat on the Delhi-Jaipur road, lying 41 miles north of Jaipur, 25 miles west of Alwar and 8 miles and-a-half east "as the crow flies from Bhabru", in Rajasthan. The edict was so named after a camping station at Bhābru or Bhābrā, lying "6 kos" to the west of Bairat on the old route from Delhi to Jaipur.[1] It has since been removed to the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta.

Since this edict specifically mentions certain passages of the sacred Buddhist literature, the mode of addressing the Saṁgha and of showing reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṁgha, used by Aśoka are typically Buddhist, and references to the Buddha and his religion as *Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite save se subhāsite* and *Sadhaṁme chilaṭhitīke hosatīti* have been traced in the Buddhist Suttas,[2] it forms one of the most important documents for the history of the Buddhist Church and canonical literature, as also for the personal history of Aśoka, and therefore it has engaged much attention of the Indologists. It was discovered in 1840 A.D., and the same year Capt. Kittoe and Pt. Kamalā Kānta attempted to decipher it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, IX. A systematic study of this edict began early in the nineties of the last century and over a dozen scholars have since laboured on it.

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1. Woolner, A.C., *Asoka—Text and Glossary*, Pt. I, Intro. p. xiv.
2. Mookerji, R.K., *Asoka* (2nd rev. ed. 1955), p. 117 f.n. 1. The expressions have been traced in the *Aṅguttara* and the *Mahāvyutpatti.*

This edict is one of the most well-preserved epigraphs and is contained in eight lines as follows[1] :

L 1. Piyadasi[i] Lājā Māgadhe[ii] Saṁghaṁ abhivādanaṁ[iii] āhā apābādhataṁ cha phāsu vihālataṁ chā.

L 2. Vidite ve bhaṁte āvatake hamā Budhasi Dhaṁmasi Saṁghasīti galave[iv] chaṁ pasāde[v] cha. E keṁchi bhaṁte

L 3. Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite save[vi] se subhāsite vā e chu kho bhaṁte hamiyāye diseyā[vii] hevaṁ Sadhaṁme

L 4. chilaṭhitīke hosatīti alahāṁ hakaṁ taṁ vatave[viii]. Imāṁ bhaṁte dhaṁmapaliyāyāni Vinayasamukase

L 5. Aliyavasāni Anāgatabhayāni Munigāthā Moneyasūte Upatisapasine e che Lāghulo-

L 6. vāde musāvādaṁ adhigichya Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite. Etāṁ bhaṁte dhaṁmapaliyāyāni ichhāmi

L 7. kiṁti bahuke bhikhupāye chā bhikhuniye chā abhikhinaṁ sunayu[ix] chā upadhāleyeyu cha

L 8. hevamevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā. Eteṁ bhaṁte imaṁ likhāpayāmi abhihetaṁ ma jānaṁta ti[x].

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[1] For text, ref. Woolner, *op. cit.*, p. 32 ; Hultzsch, E., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 172ff. ; Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-13 ; Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 77 ; E. Senart, *I.A.*, XX, p. 165ff ; B.M. Barua, *I.H.Q.*, II, p. 88.

Alternate readings

Senart—*ii.* Māgadhaṁ

Hultszch—*i.* Priyadasi *ii.* Māgadhe *iii.* abhivādetūnaṁ
iv. gālave *v.* prasāde *vi.* sarve
viii. vātave *ix.* suneyu
x. abhipretaṁ me jānaṁtū ti.

Barua—*vii.* diseyo *viii.* vitave

This may be rendered into English in the following way :

"Priyadarśi, the King of Magadha, saluting the Saṁgha, and wishing them all health and happiness, thus speaks :

Known is to you, Reverend Sirs, to what extent is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṁgha.

Whatsoever has been said, Reverend Sirs, by the Lord Buddha, all that has of course been well said. But of such, Reverend Sirs, what occurs to me (to be the best) I state that so that the Saddharma (*i.e.*, the religion preached by the Buddha) may be everlasting.

Reverend Sirs, these passages of the scripture as told by the Lord Buddha are the Vinayasamukase (the Buddha's teaching *par excellence*, *i.e*., the Dhammachakkapavattana Sutta), the Aliyavasāni (the Ariyavaṁsa Sutta), the Anāgatabhayāni (the Anāgatabhayāni Sutta), the Munigāthā (the Muni Sutta), the Moneyasūte (the Nālaka Sutta), the Upatisapasine (the Sāriputta Sutta), and the Lāghulovade (the Rāhulovada Sutta) on falsehood.

These passages of the scripture, Reverend Sirs, I desire that most of the monks and nuns should repeatedly listen to and meditate upon, and in the same way the lay disciples, male as well female, (should act).

For this reason, Reverend Sirs, am I causing this to be inscribed that they may know of my intention."[1]

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[1] Dr. B. M. Barua and Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji (*op. cit.*, pp. 116-18) translated it as follows :

"His Gracious Majesty, King of Magadha, saluting the Saṁgha and wishing them all health and happiness, addresses them as follows :

Known is to you, Reverend Sirs, to what extent is my reverence as well as faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṁgha.

Whatsoever has been said, Reverend Sirs, by the Lord Buddha, all that has of course been well said. But of such, what has been selected by me that the true Dharma may be everlasting I may be privileged to state.

The following, Reverend Sirs, are the passages of the scripture :

1. The excellent treatise on Moral Discipline.
2. The course of conduct followed by the Sages—modes of ideal life.

Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite occurring after *adhigichya* in L 6 should not be taken to qualify only the *Lāghulovade musāvādaṁ adhigichya*. It appears to qualify *dhaṁmapaliyāyāni* in L 4 since all the texts cited are from the sayings of the Buddha as already stated in lines 2-4 of the edict. It would therefore be more appropriate to read *Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite* with *imāṁ bhaṁte dhaṁmapaliyāyāni* and translate the passage as "Reverend Sirs, these passages of the scripture as told by the Lord Buddha are".

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3. Fear of what may come about in future (Danger threatening the Saṁgha and the doctrine).
4. Poem on "who is an hermit ?"
5. Discourse on Quietism.
6. The questions of Upatiśya.
7. The sermon to Rāhula beginning with the sermon on falsehood, as delivered by the Lord Buddha.

These sections of the Dharma, Reverend Sirs, I desire that most of the reverend monks and nuns should repeatedly listen to and meditate, and in the same way, the lay disciples, male as well as female, (should act).

For this reason, Reverend Sirs, am I causing this to be inscribed that they may know of my intention."

2

Māgadhe or Māgdhaṁ

The variants in reading do not make any difference in meaning except in the case of *Māgadhe* or *Māgadhaṁ* in L 1. Hultzsch read *Māgadhe* and treated it to be qualifying *Priyadasi lājā.*[1] According to him, the whole expression would be translated as "Priyadarśi, the king of Magadha". Senart read *Māgadhaṁ* and thought that it qualified *Saṁghaṁ.*[2]

The reading *Māgadhaṁ Saṁghaṁ*, to mean 'the Saṁgha of Magadha', has been generally rejected as the findspot of this edict in far off Rajasthan outside Magadha which traditionally comprised the Patna, Gaya and Shahabad districts of modern Bihar, does not bear out the possibility of addressing the Saṁgha as the 'Saṁgha of Magadha'.[3] Since the edict is inscribed on a detached boulder which can be easily transported, it is, however, not quite improbable that it might have been originally placed in a monastery in Magadha and later transplanted in its present findspot in Rajasthan, probably by a mere accident, as there is no evidence to show that a Buddhist monastery existed in the neighbourhood of Bairat in the Mauryan times or immediately afterwards. The presence of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I in its neighbourhood does not conclusively associate the place with Buddhism as the other places where recensions of M.R.E. I have been found are not generally sought to be identified with any centres of

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[1] Hultzsch, *ibid.*

[2] Senart, *ibid.*

[3] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 116, f.n. 5.

Buddhism.[1] The presence of M.R.E. there simply denotes that Bairat (the ancient Virāṭanagara) was an important place in those days. Its historicity is also borne out from its references in the *Mahābhārata*. The three Schism Edicts, also known as the Minor Pillar Edicts, were rightly set up at Kauśāmbī, Sarnath and Sanchi, which are reputed to be great centres of Buddhism from very early times. The Bhabru Edict should also have been originally instituted at a place which was a great centre of Buddhism and the right place for its setting up would have been the monastery itself as it is addressed directly to the Saṁgha. The isolated evidence of the finding of this edict at the present site is, however, not quite sufficient to make this site a centre of Buddhism in the absence of any other evidence.

But in the absence of any definite proof the theory of transplantation recedes into the realm of mere probabilities. More convincing appears the suggestion of Dr. J.P. Jain that till the promulgation of this edict the Buddhist Saṁgha was still known as the 'Māgadha Saṁgha'. This suggestion of Dr. Jain finds corroboration in Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the Buddhist Saṁgha was undivided till the time of Aśoka.[2] It further leads to the suggestion that by the time of Aśoka the Buddhist Saṁgha was small and was more of local importance and that the real credit for transforming a local sect into a world religion is due to Aśoka, as is also acknowledged by the Buddhists themselves. The inexplicability of Aśoka's styling himself as the 'King of Magadha' in this particularly isolated instance, also tends to support this view. This discussion would make a strong presumption in favour of *Māgadhaṁ Saṁghaṁ*.

On the other hand, those favouring *Piyadasi lājā Māgadhe*, seek corroboration in this edict of the Buddhist tradition about the holding of the Buddhist Council (*Saṁgīti*) under Aśoka. Bhandarkar thought that Aśoka should have felt the necessity of introducing himself as

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[1] Other findspots are Ahraura, Sasaram, Rupnath, Gujarra, Maski, Gavimath, Palkigundu, Siddapur, Brahmagiri, Jating-Rameshwar, Yerragudi, Rajula-Mandagiri and Delhi. Ahraura appears to be the only place connected with Buddhism, the findspot being the probable site of the Bhesakalāvana where the Buddha spent one rainy season during his visit to the country of the Bhaggas.

[2] Bhandarkar, D. R., *Asoka* (3rd ed. 1955), p. 87.

'King of Magadha' as the Council might have been attended by many a Bhikkhu who did not belong to his empire.[1] But this is a mere conjecture[2] in the absence of any reference to the Council in the edict itself. Aśoka has mentioned several events in his edicts and there is no reason to believe that he would not have mentioned such an important event as the convening of the Council, had the edict been promulgated on that occasion. Moreover, the Council met at Pāṭaliputra while the edict has been found hundreds of miles away at Bairat.

The extensive distribution of the Asokan edicts in the different parts of the country also leaves little scope for an inference that the findspot of the edict was outside the empire of Aśoka and hence he introduced himself as 'King of Magadha'. The extreme points are Shar-i-kuna near Kandahar in Afghanistan, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra near Peshawar and Taxila near Rawalpindi in West Pakistan, Kalsi near Dehra Dun in Uttar Pradesh, Rummindei in Nepal, Yerragudi in the Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh, and Siddapur, Brahmagiri and Jating-Rameshwar in the Chitaldrug district in Mysore Pradesh.

It can be explained better with reference to the administrative divisions under Aśoka. The empire under Aśoka appears to have been divided into five provinces: Magadha directly ruled by the Emperor with headquarters at Pāṭaliputra, and the other provinces of Uttarāpatha with headquarters at Takshaśilā, Avantiratha with headquarters at Ujjayinī, Dakshiṇāpatha with headquarters at Suvarṇagiri, and Kaliṅga with headquarters at Tośali, ruled by him through Kumāras or Āryaputras, *i.e.*, the princes of blood royal, acting as his Viceroys. The Magadha province seems to have comprised the erstwhile *janapadas* of Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Vatsa, Chedi, Kuru, Pañchāla, Śūrasena and Matsya, its grid being roughly demarcated by the findspots of the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka.[3] Bairat, the traditional capital of Matsya Janapada, fell within the Magadha Province, and since this province was under the direct rule of Aśoka, it was not unnatural for him to style himself as the 'King of Magadha' or *Magadha-rāja* in an edict promulgated in that province.

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[1] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[2] V. A. Smith also thinks that it is not addressed to the Council. (*Asoka*, p. 142, f.n. 2).

[3] The recensions of P.E. were found at Lauriya-Araraj, Nandangarh and Rampurva in the Champaran district in Bihar, at Kauśāmbī and Meerut in Uttar Pradesh, and at Topra near Ambala in Haryana. The Schism Edicts or Minor P.E. were found at Kauśāmbī and Sarnath in Uttar Pradesh and at Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh, and the Commemorative Pillar Edicts, at Rummindei and Nigliva in South Nepal.

It is also significant that nearer home, in the Barabar Cave Inscriptions, he styles himself as *Piyadasi lājā* and not as *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi lājā*. *Devānaṁpiya* has been used as a synonym of *rājā* in the different versions of R.E. VIII and K.R.E. II and has also been used as an honorific by his son Daśaratha in his inscriptions. It means that though literally it carries the sense 'beloved of the gods', it was a royal honorific equivalent to 'His Majesty', probably made current during the reign of Aśoka. *Piyadasi*, meaning 'One whose sight is pleasing', was possibly his personal title, and was generally used with the honorific *Devānaṁpiya*, but in his home province he sometimes styled himself simply as *Piyadasi lājā*. The name Aśoka appears twice in his edicts, with the appellation of *Devānaṁpiya* only in the Maski recension of his M.R.E. I and complete with *Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi* in the Gujarra recension of the same edict.[1] This seems to settle that both *Devānaṁpiya* and *Piyadasi* were royal honorifics or titles.

In the light of the above discussion the reading *Māgadhe* and the interpretation 'Priyadarśi, the King of Magadha', would appear to be more justified.

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[1] Maski Edict—*Devānaṁpiyasa Asokasa*.
Gujarra Edict—*Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasino Asokarājasa*.

3

Identification of Scripture

Of the passages of the Buddhist scripture, referred to by Aśoka, the Aliyavasāni has been identified with the Ariyavaṁsa Sutta contained in the *Aṅguttara Chatukkanipāta*.[1] The Buddha tells in this Sutta that a recluse should not grumble about cloth, food and resting place but should be contented with whatever cloth and food he gets easily and should enjoy meditation.

The Anāgatabhayāni has been identified with the Anāgatabhayāni Sutta contained in the *Aṅguttara Pañchakanipāta*.[2] Here the Buddha exhorts the Bhikkhus to exert all the time lest old age, disease, famine, rebellion or schism should disturb them by creating unfavourable conditions.

The Munigāthā is the Munisutta of the *Suttanipāta*.[3] Here the Buddha defines a hermit as one who is homeless, detached, lonely, contented, fearless, above praise or blame, restrained, above sex, and scrupulous about non-killing of and non-injury to living beings, and who lives on begging.

The Moneyasūṭe is the Nālaka Sutta of the *Suttanipāta*[4]. This is mainly a sermon on how a Bhikkhu should behave. It prescribes a code of conduct for the Bhikkhus when they go to the villages and asks them mainly to restrain their tongue.

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1. Dharmanand Kosambi, *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 37-40. Earlier Dr. T.W. Rhys Davids sought to identify it with the Saṁgāti Sutta (*J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 639 ff ; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. xiii).
2. Kosambi, *ibid.*
3. Rhys Davids, *ibid.*
4. Kosambi, *ibid.*

The Upatisapasine has been identified with the Sāriputta Sutta of the *Suttanipāta*.[1] Here again the Buddha prescribes a code of behaviour for the Bhikkhus and forewarns them of the difficulties of their path.

The Lāghulovāde has been identified with the Rāhulovāda Sutta, also known as the Chūla Rāhulovāda or the Ambalaṭhika Rāhulovāda, of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (Sutta No. 61).[2] *Musāvādaṁ adhigichya* helps in identification. *Adhi. ichya* has been equated with Sanskrit *adhikṛitya* and is taken to mean 'beginning with' or 'regarding'. Aśoka has not indicated the subject-matter of any other passage and it is difficult to comprehend the necessity that should have occurred to him for indicating the subject-matter in this case. It may be that in his time there were several Suttas known as Rāhulovāda and therefore a distinction had to be made by indicating its subject-matter. The sermon begins with a denunciation of falsehood in every conceivable form. The Buddha exhorts Rāhula not to tell a lie even in joke. Thereafter he emphasises the need for critical examination of all bodily, vocal and mental acts.

The identification of Vinayasamukase has, however, been a matter of controversy. Smith[3] and Senart[4] identified it with the First Sermon of the Buddha, better known as the Dhammachakkapavattana Sutta. A.J. Edmunds also was of the same view as he discovered in the *Udāna*, iii, that *sāmukkaṁsikā* was used as an adjective of *dhammadesanā*. Kosambi was also later of the same view as he thought that perhaps *vinaya* could also mean 'instruction' and that the First Sermon could have hardly been ignored by Aśoka.[5]

But Barua and other scholars were guided by *Vinaya* in its traditional meaning in their identification of this passage. Barua identified it with the Sigalovāda Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which, according to the commentary of Buddhaghosa, contains *Gihivinaya* and thus applies to the house-holders as well. The Suttanta further

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1. Kosambi, *ibid.* Rhys Davids sought to identify it with certain passages of the *Vinaya*, I.
2. Senart, *ibid.*
3. Smith, V.A., *Oxford History of India*, p. 109.
4. *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 387.
5. Kosambi, Dharmanand, *Bhagavān Buddha* (Hindi, 1956), pp. 7-8.

deals with *Ariyasavinaya* or the *Vinayasamukase* in Asokan parlance which is nothing but the 'Ideal Discipline'. It also thus applies to all classes, to monks and nuns as well as to lay disciples, for whose study Aśoka intended it.[1] S.N. Mitra, however, identified it with the Sappurisa Sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* as the words *vinayadhara* and '*attāna ukkaṁseti*' (=*sāmukaso*) occur in that passage.[2] C.D. Chatterji traced the clue to the identification of the various passages mentioned by Aśoka in a story narrated by Buddhaghosa in the *Visuddhimagga*. It depicts an ideal monk who followed the code of conduct prescribed by the Buddha in the Rathavinīta Sutta, the Nālaka Sutta, the Mahā Ariyavaṁsa and the Tuvaṭaka Sutta, the first three, according to Chatterji, being the same as the Upatisapasine, the Moneyasūte and the Aliyavasāni of Aśoka. He equates the Tuvaṭaka Sutta in which the Buddha discourses on *pāṭipāda*, *pātimokkha*, and *samādhi*, with the Vinayasamukase of Aśoka as these discourses may well make up the cream of *Vinaya*, and he feels, what Buddhaghosa selected as the most important and representative for a Bhikkhu might well have been cited by Aśoka too.[3]

The edict is, in fact, meant for the monks and nuns as well as the lay disciples. The other passages besides laying down the code for clergy are also meant for the laity. The main object of Aśoka in asking the laity to read and meditate upon these passages appears to be simply to enjoin on the laity the duty to see that the clergy did not degenerate. This duty could be discharged efficiently only if the laity knew the standards by which to judge a monk or nun.

It would thus be wrong to surmise that Aśoka was laying down the rules of conduct for monks and nuns alone. It also passes comprehension that Aśoka should have ignored the first sermon which forms the very basis of the entire Buddhist philosophy, the *sāra* of the Buddha's teachings in Asokan parlance. The first sermon really deserved the first place and was rightly mentioned first by Aśoka as Vinayasamukase.

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1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 809.
2. *I.A.*, 1919, pp. 8-11.
3. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18 f.n. 8. D.C. Sircar identified the first text with the Atthavasavagga contained in the *Aṅguttara* (*J.D.L.*, XX).

Root *ni* with prefix *vi* has been used in the meaning of 'to instruct, to educate, to direct' in the *Mahābhārata* and the word *vinaya*, itself has been used to mean 'education, discipline, control, leading, guidance, training (moral)' in the same epic.[1] In the Pali canon also *ni* with prefix *vi* has been used in the meaning of 'to teach'.[2]

Although in the Pali canon *samukkaṁsa*, does not appear in the meaning of 'teachings of the Buddha', the expression *sāmukkaṁsika* occurs at several places as comprising the Four Noble Truths, namely, *Dukkhaṁ*, *Samudayaṁ*, *Nirodhaṁ* and *Maggaṁ*, expounded in the First Sermon.[3]

In the light of the above discussion it would be only logical to interpret Vinayasamukase (Skt. *Vinaya-samut-karshaḥ*=the Vinaya *par excellence*) as the Buddha's teaching *par excellence* and identify it with the First Sermon or the Dhammachakkapavattana Sutta. It is just possible that in the days of Aśoka that sermon was actually known as named by him.

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[1] Monier-Williams, M. ; *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 971.

[2] *e.g.*, *Aṅguttara*, IV, Sutta 111, and *Majjhima*, Suttas 107 and 147, cited by Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[3] ref. the Upāli Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the Ambaṭṭha Sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The concluding portion of the Ambaṭṭha Sutta :

> Yadā bhagavā aññāsi brahmaṇaṁ Pokkharasatiṁ kallachittaṁ muduchittaṁ vinivaraṇachittaṁ udaggachittaṁ pasantachittaṁ atha yā Buddhānaṁ sāmukkaṁsikā dhammadesanā taṁ pakāsesi dukkhaṁ samudayaṁ nirodhaṁ maggaṁ.

4

Budhism and Aśoka

Senart has pointed out that it is strange that if the Buddhist canon was defined and closed by the time of Aśoka, as stated in the Southern legends, he should select for indicating the Buddha's lessons pieces so little characteristic, so short and so devoid of dogmatic importance as those which he cites appear to be, and that, too, without even alluding to the great collection of which the title alone would have been infinitely more significant and to which it would be so natural to appeal when addressing the Saṁgha.[1] Several of the Buddhist scholars have also since expressed doubts about the correctness of the Southern legends.[2] Three of the seven passages mentioned by Aśoka have been traced in the *Suttanipāta* of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka*. They are in verse. Of the remaining passages, two have been traced in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and one in the *Majjhima Nikāya* of the same *piṭaka*. It is difficult to draw any inference from this but it may be said that the *Suttanipāta* perhaps represents the oldest collection of the Buddha's teachings and perhaps also the verse portions are older than others. It is just possible that the *Vinayapiṭaka* as it is known today, did not exist then and perhaps only a very contracted version of the *Suttapiṭaka* represented the teachings of the Buddha.

The Southern legends only hint towards an attempt at consolidating the teachings of the Buddha in the time of Aśoka. It would be wrong to assume that the whole canon was defined and closed then. It was, in fact, in a process of evolution and this process continued at least till the first century of the Christian era. Additions and alterations must have been continuously made suiting to the exigencies of

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1. Senart, E , *Les Inscriptiones de Piyadasi.*
2. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

time and land. This tendency is more clearly exhibited in the development of the various schools.

The evidence afforded within the inscriptions of Aśoka suggests that he did not cause any edict to be incised on rocks and pillars earlier than his 12th regnal year. The earliest of his records are R.E. I-IV, M.R.E. I-II, and the two Barabar Cave Inscriptions of the Year 12. In M.R.E. I he declares his association with the Saṁgha for the first time. He refers to his visit to the Saṁgha and to the installation of the Buddha's relics, as also to his setting out on pilgrimage, in this edict. His visit to the Saṁgha referred to therein could not have been the occasion for giving instructions to the Saṁgha. The position of the Schism Edict on the Allahabad Pillar just below P.E. I-VI suggests that the Schism Edicts were issued in the Year 26 simultaneously with P.E. I-VI. In the Schism Edicts Aśoka assumes the role of the mentor of the Saṁgha. He also ordains the laity to be mindful of the conduct of the monks and nuns so that they may not violate his orders. This was also the occasion when he should have thought it fit to prescribe compulsory study of certain passages of the scripture so that all members of the congregation might be reminded of the fundamentals of the Buddha's teachings as well as of the ideal conduct prescribed for the *bhikshus* and *bhikshuṇis*. The Bhabru Edict thus appears to have been issued at the same time as the Schism Edicts. Possibly there were more recensions of this edict, supplied to all the important monastic establishments, but unfortunately only one recension is now available. It is not addressed to a particularly local Saṁgha but it is addressed to the Saṁgha generally. By its very nature it appears to be supplementing the Schism Edicts and seems to confirm the assumption of mentor's role by Aśoka *vis-a-vis* the Saṁgha in his later days.

The schismatic tendencies in the Buddhist Saṁgha had made their ugly appearance during the life-time of the Buddha himself. After Aśoka had extended royal patronage to Buddhism, made a serious attempt to consolidate the Buddha's teachings by convening a Buddhist Council and planned systematic programme for propagating them not only within his empire but also in foreign lands by sending missionaries, it was only natural for him to deal with such tendencies with a firm hand. The action appears to have been two-fold : educative as in the Bhabru Edict and punitive as in the Schism Edicts.

Aśoka has spoken of his diligence in several edicts. The Bhabru Edict is an example of his diligence ; it not only settles the controversy about his conversion to Buddhism but it also portrays him as a diligent Buddhist who had studied the scripture and obtained such mastery of the religious tenets that he could recommend even to the Saṁgha what it should specially read.

He was, however, not a bigot. Buddhism was his personal faith and although he did much for its propagation, he was tolerant of the different creeds and gave patronage to all alike as a king. This tradition of secularism was followed by all the great kings of ancient India. Khāravela, coming fifty years after Aśoka, was a follower of Jainism and his services to Jainism were also comparable to those of Aśoka to Buddhism, but he took pride in styling himself as 'the embellisher of all temples' and as 'the worshipper of all religions'.

My paper on 'The Bhabru Edict of Aśoka' was published in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal,* VI, 1, pp. 1-10. I have given further thought to the problems connected with this epigraph and as a consequence revised some of the views expressed earlier in that paper.

The problem connected with the chronology of Aśoka's edicts, the significance of M.R.E. I, and the organisational set-up of the empire under Aśoka, have been discussed by me in my *History of Vatsa.*

APPENDIX A

खारवेल के हाथीगुम्फा लेख के संशोधित पाठ की नागरी लिपि में अनुकृति

{उन भग्नांशों के पाठ जो पढ़े जा सकते हैं ( ) में दिये गये हैं तथा उन भग्नांशों के संभावित एवं प्रस्तावित पाठ जो मिट चुके हैं [ ] में दिये गये हैं।}

पंक्ति १. नमो अरहंतानं (।) नमो सव-सिधानं (।।) ऐरेन महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चेति-राजव(ं)स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन चतुरंत-लुठण-गुण-उपेतेन कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेलेन

२. पंदरस-वसानि सिरि-कडार-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका (।) ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सव-विजावदातेन नव-वसानि योवरज(ं) पसासितं (।) संपुण-चतुवीसति-वसो तदानि वधमान-सेस-योवनाभिविजयो ततिये-

३. कलिंग-राजवंसे-पुरिसयुगे महाराजाभिसेचनं पापुनाति (।) अभिसितमतो च पधमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिंग-नगरि-खिबीरं सितल-तडाग-पाडियो च बंधायति सवूयान-पटिसंथपनं च

४. कारयति पनतीसाहि-सत-सहसेहि (,) पकतियो च रंजयति (।) दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकंनि पछिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रध बहुलं-दंडं पठापयति कंहबेंना-गताय च सेनाय वितासिति असिक-नगरं (।) ततिये पुन वसे

५. गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदंसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडपयति नगरिं (।) तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवासं अहत-पुव-कलिंग-पुवराज(ि)नव(`)(ि)स(ि) त···वितध-मकुट-सबिल(धि)ते च निखित-छत-

६. भिंगारे हित-रतन-सापतेये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे वंदापयति (।) पंचमे च दानी वसे नंदराज-ति-वस-सत-ओघाटितं तनुसुलियवाटा-पणाडिं नगरं पवेसयति स···(।) अभिसितो च [छठे वसे] राजसेयं-संदसयंतो सव-कर-वण-

७. अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं (।) सतमे च वसे पसासतो वजिरघरवति-घुसित-घरिनि* स(ा) मतुक-पद पुंन[ादया]त

*** अथवा, "वजिरघर-वंतिय(ा)-स(ि)त-घरिनि"**

पा[पुनाति] (।) अठमे च वसे महता-सेनाय (अपति)हत-(भि)ति-गोरधगिरिं

८. घातापयिता राजगह-नप(–̇) पीडपयति (।) एतिनं च कंमपदान-पनांदेन संवित-सेनवाहने विपमु(–̇)चितु मधुरं अपयातो यमना-[नदीं]··· [सवर-राजान च]···गछति) पलवभार-

९. कपरुख-हय-गज-रध-सह यंते सव-घरावास(ी)-पूजि[त]-ठ (ू)[प]-[पूजा]य सव-गहनं च कारयितुं बमणानं जातिं परिहारं ददाति (,) अरहत च [पूजति (।) नवमे च वसे] सुविजय

१०. ते उभय-प्राची-तटे राज-निवासं महाविजय-पासादं कारयति अठतिसाय-सत-सहसेहि (।) दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा(म)मयो भरदवस-पठानं मह(ी)-जयनं·····कारापयति(।)[एकदसमे च वसे] प(ा)यातानं मनि-रतनानि-सह याति

११. [दखिन दिसं] (मंदं) च अव-राज-निवेसितं पिथुडं गदभ-नगलेन कासयति (,) जनपद-भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं भिदति तमिर-दह-संघातं (।) बारसमे च वसे···स(ह)सेहि वितासयतो उतरापध-राजानो-

१२. ···मागधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं गंगाय पाययति (,) मागध(–̇) च राजानं बह(स)तिमितं पादे वंदापयति (,) नंदराज-नीतं च कालिंग-जिनं संनिवेस (`) [पूजयति] (,) [कोसात] (गह)-रत(नाि)न पडीहारेहि अंग-मगध-वसुं च नेयाति (।)

१३. ···क(`)तु(–̇) जठर-लखिल-(गो)पुरानि-सिहरानि निवेसयति सत-विसिकानं परिहारेहि (।) अभुतमछरियं च हथि-नाव-नीतं परिहरति··· ···हय-हथि-रतन-मानिको पंड-राजा (चेदानि अनेकानि) मुत-मणि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत-स[हसानि]

१४. [पंड-जनपद-वा]सिनो वसीकरोति (।) तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके-कुमारी-पवते अरहते पखिण-संसितेहि काय-निसीदीयाय (ा) यापुजवकेहि राज-भतिन(ा) चिन-वतान(ा) वस-सितान(ा) पूजानुरत-उवासग-खारवेल-सिरिना जीव-देह-(सिरिता) परिखाता (।)

१५. [निमंतितेन राजा·सिरि-खारवेलेन] सुकत-समण-सुविहितानं च सव-दिसानं ञानिनं तपसि-इसिनं संघयनं अरहत-निसीदीया समीपे पाभारे वराकार-समुथापिताहि अनेक-योजनाहिताहि [पनतिसतेहि]···सिलाहि सिंहपथ-रञी-सिंधुलाय निसयानि (।)

१६. ···पटलके चतरे च वेडूरिय-गभे-थभे पतिठापयति (,) पानतरिय-सठ-सत-(व)सेहि मुखिय-कल-वोछिनं च चोयठ-अंगं संतिकं तुरियं उपादयति(।)

खेम-राजा स वध-राजा स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसंतो सुनंतो अनुभवंतो कलाणानि (।)

१७. [पानतरिय-पनतिसत-वस ।] गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-देवायतन-संखारकारको अपतिहत-चक-वाहन-बलो चक-धरो गुत-चको पवत-चको राजसि-वंस-कुल-विनिशितो महाविजयो राजा खारवेल-सिरि (।)

अशोक के भाब्रू लेख के अनुमोदित पाठ की नागरी लिपि में अनुकृति

पंक्ति १. पियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादनं
आहा अपावाधतं च फासु विहालतं चा (।)

२. विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि
धंमसि संघसीति गलवे चं पसादे च (।)
ए केंचि भंते

३. भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवे से सुभासिते
वा ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं
सधंमे

४. चिलठितीके होसतीति अलहां हकं तं वतवे (।)
इमां भंते धंमपलियायानि विनयसमुकसे

५. अलियवसानि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा
मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चे लाघुलो-

६. वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन
भासिते (।) एतां भंते धंमपलियायानि
इछामि

७. किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा
अभिखिनं सुनयु चा उपधालेयेयु च

८. हेवमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (।)
एतें भंते इमं लिखापयामि अभिहेतं म
जानंत ति (।)

APPENDIX B

हाथीगुम्फा लेख के संशोधित पाठ का हिन्दी रूपान्तर

कोष्ठक( ) में पूरक शब्द हैं और [ ] में संभावित पाठों के अर्थ हैं।

"अरहंतों को नमस्कार हो।
सब सिद्धों को नमस्कार हो॥

कलिंग के अधिपति, चेति राजवंश की कीर्ति को बढ़ाने वाले, प्रशस्त शुभ लक्षणों से भूषित और चारों दिगन्तों में विख्यात गुणों से अलंकृत आर्य महाराज महामेघवाहन श्री खारवेल द्वारा पन्द्रह वर्ष तक, जबकि उनका शरीर सुन्दर और कडार वर्ण का था, राजकुमारों के उपयुक्त क्रीड़ायें की गईं।

तत्पश्चात् राजकीय लेख पद्धति, मुद्रा शास्त्र, लेखा शास्त्र, प्रशासकीय नियमों और अधिनियमों में निष्णात होकर और विद्या के सभी अंगों का ज्ञान प्राप्त करके उनके द्वारा नौ वर्ष तक युवराज के पद से शासन किया गया।

तब चौबीस वर्ष की अवस्था पूर्ण करने पर कलिंग के राजवंश की तीसरी पीढ़ी में, वे अपना महाराज्याभिषेक कराते हैं ताकि अपने शेष यौवन को विजयों द्वारा समृद्ध कर सकें।

और राज्याभिषेक होने के बाद प्रथम वर्ष में पैंतीस लाख (मुद्रा) व्यय करके वह कलिंग की राजधानी में तूफान से क्षतिग्रस्त गोपुरों, प्राकारों और निवासों की मरम्मत कराते हैं, शीतल तड़ाग के बाँध को सुदृढ़ कराते हैं और सब ही उद्यानों का प्रति-संस्थापन कराते हैं, और प्रजा का रंजन करते हैं।

और द्वितीय वर्ष में शातकर्णि की चिन्ता न करके वह अश्वारोही, हाथी, पदाति और रथ से समन्वित विपुल सैन्य पश्चिम दिशा में पठाते हैं और सेना के कृष्णवेणा नदी पर पहुँच जाने पर असिकों की राजधानी को त्रस्त करते हैं।

फिर तृतीय वर्ष में गंधर्व विद्या में प्रबुद्ध वह लोक-नृत्य, शास्त्रीय नृत्य, सुगम संगीत और वाद्य संगीत के कार्यक्रम कराके और विविध उत्सव और मेले कराके नगरवासियों का मनोविनोद करते हैं।

एवं चतुर्थ वर्ष में वह विद्याधरों के आवास (=विंध्याचल) में, जिसे कलिंग का कोई भूतपूर्व राजा आहत न कर सका था, निवास करते हैं और सभी रठिकों और भोजकों से जिनके मुकुट और अलंकृत अश्व नष्ट कर दिये गये, छत्र और भृंगार

निक्षिप्त कर दिये गये और रत्न एवं धन अपहृत कर लिये गये, अपने चरणों की वंदना कराते हैं।

और पंचम शुभ वर्ष में (महावीर संवत् के) १०३वें वर्ष में राजा नन्द द्वारा उद्घाटित तनसुलियवाटा-प्रणाली (नहर) को......सहस्र (मुद्रा) व्यय करके वह राजधानी में प्रवेश कराते हैं।

तथा राज्याभिषेक के छठे वर्ष में राज्य के ऐश्वर्य के प्रदर्शन हेतु वह सभी राज्य कर माफ कर देते हैं और नगर एवं ग्राम निवासियों पर लाखों मुद्राओं के मूल्य के अन्य अनेकों अनुग्रह विसर्जित करते हैं।

और जब वह सप्तम वर्ष में शासन कर रहे थे तो [पुण्य के उदय से] उनकी वजिरघरवती नाम की ग्रहिणी ने माता का पद प्राप्त किया।

एवं अष्टम वर्ष में अप्रतिहत भित्ति वाले गोरथगिरि का घात करके राजगृह के राजा को वह पीड़ा पहुँचाते हैं। और इस पराक्रम के कार्य की परम्परा में मथुरा का विमोचन करते हुए वह अपने सैन्य-वाहन सहित······यमुना [नदी] पहुँच जाते हैं। [तथा सभी अधीनस्थ राजाओं के साथ] पल्लवभार से युक्त कल्पवृक्ष, अश्व-सैन्य, गज-सैन्य और रथ-सैन्य के साथ वह सब गृहस्थों द्वारा [पूजित स्तूप की पूजा करने के लिए] जाते हैं एवं सर्वग्रहण अनुष्ठान करने के लिए ब्राह्मणों की जाति को दान देते हैं, और अरहंत की [पूजा करते हैं]।

[तथा नवम वर्ष में]इस उत्तम विजय की(स्मृति हेतु)प्राची नदी के दोनों तटों पर वह महाविजय-प्रासाद नाम के राजमहल का अड़तीस लाख (मुद्रा) की लागत से निर्माण कराते हैं।

और दसवें वर्ष में दंड और संधी के स्वामी वह सम्पूर्ण पृथ्वी की विजय हेतु भारतवर्ष में प्रस्थान के लिए (तैयारी) कराते हैं।

[एवं ग्यारहवें वर्ष में]वह मणि और रत्नों के साथ[दक्षिण दिशा में]मंदगति से प्रयाण करते हैं और अव (आन्ध्र ?) राजाओं के निवास पिथुंड नगर में गदहों के हल चलवाते हैं, तथा अपने राज्य के कल्याण की दृष्टि से (महावीर संवत् के) ११३वें वर्ष में बने तमिल देशों के संघ को भेदते हैं।

और बारहवें वर्ष में सहस्रों (वीरों की सेना के साथ)[उत्तर की ओर प्रयाण करते हुए] वह उत्तरापथ के राजाओं को त्रस्त करते हैं और मगध वासियों के हृदय में विपुल भय पैदा करते हुए अपने हाथियों और घोड़ों को गंगा में पानी पिलाते हैं, तथा मगध के राजा वृहस्पतिमित्र से अपने चरणों की वंदना कराते हैं, नंद-राज द्वारा कलिंग से लायी गयी जिनेन्द्र की प्रतिमा की मन्दिर [में पूजा करते हैं, और

राज कोष से] गृह-रत्नों का अपहरण करके अंग और मगध का धन ले आते हैं। [वापस लौटने पर] दो सहस्र (मुद्रा) व्यय करके वह गोपुरों के सभी सुदृढ़ शिखरों पर केतु लगवाते हैं और अद्भुत आश्चर्य का विषय है कि हाथी-सैन्य और नाव-सैन्य भेजकर वह पांड्य राजा के घोड़े, हाथी, रत्न और माणिक्य···ले लेते हैं और वहाँ लाखों के मूल्य के अनेक मुक्ता, मणि और रत्नों का भी अपहरण करते हैं एवं [पांड्य जनपद के निवासियों को] वश में करते हैं।

तथा तेरहवें वर्ष में राजसी भक्त जिसने व्रतों का पालन किया है, जो दैवी शक्ति से सम्पन्न है और जिसका पूजा में अनुराग है ऐसे उपासक श्री खारवेल द्वारा, जिनका जीव अभी देहाश्रित है, विजय मंडल में स्थित कुमारी पर्वत नामक शुभ पर्वत पर पूजा के हेतु संसारमुक्त अरहंतों की काय-निषिद्या का उत्खनन कराया गया।

[राजा श्री खारवेल के आमंत्रण पर] सब दिशाओं से आने वाले सुकृत और सुविहित श्रमण, ज्ञानी, तपस्वी-ऋषि और सभी संघों के नेता [जिनकी संख्या ३५०० थी], सिंहपथ वाली रानी सिंधुला की निसिया के पास शिला पर पर्वत शिखर पर अरहंत की निषिद्या के समीप वराकार में [एकत्र होते हैं]।

और [सभामण्डप के सामने] वह (अर्थात् खारवेल) वैडूर्य गर्भित चौमुखे स्तंभ की प्रतिष्ठा कराते हैं, एवं (महावीर संवत् के) १६५वें वर्ष से व्युच्छिन्न होती हुई मुख्य ध्वनि के शान्तिदायी द्वादश अंगों का शीघ्र पाठ कराते हैं। ऐसे क्षमाशील, बुद्धिमान, भिक्षुवृत्ति और धार्मिक राजा कल्याणों (=कल्याणकारी श्रुत) से संबंधित प्रश्न करते हैं, उनका श्रवण करते हैं और उनका मनन करते हैं।

[(महावीर संवत् का) ३५५वाँ वर्ष।]विशेष गुणों में कुशल, सब धर्मों को पूजने वाले, सब देवमन्दिरों का संस्कार करने वाले, अप्रतिहत चक्रवाहिनी के स्वामी, विजय-चक्र के धारण करने वाले, राज्य के रक्षक, प्रवृत्तचक्रके स्वामी, राजवंशों और कुलों के आश्रय, महाविजयी, राजा श्री खारवेल।"

भाब्रू लेख का हिन्दी रुपान्तर

"मगध-राज प्रियदर्शि संघ को अभिवादन करके और उनके स्वास्थ्य एवं कुशलता की कामना करके ऐसा कहते हैं :

भंते, आप को विदित है कि बुद्ध, धर्म और संघ में हमारा कितना आदर एवं श्रद्धा है।

भंते, भगवान् बुद्ध ने जो कुछ कहा है वह सभी सुभाषित है परन्तु भंते, सद्धर्म के चिरस्थायी होने के उद्देश्य से हम वह बताते हैं जो कुछ हमने (उनके वचनों में उत्कृष्ट) देखा है।

भंते, भगवान् बुद्ध द्वारा कहे हुए ये धर्म वचन विनयसमुकसे (=धम्मचक्कपवत्तन सुत्त), अलियवसानि (=अरियवंस सुत्त), अनागतभयानि (=अनागतभयानि सुत्त), मुनिगाथा (=मुनि सुत्त), मोनेयसूते (=नालक सुत्त), उपतिसपसिने (=सारिपुत्त सुत्त), तथा झूठ बोलने के सम्बन्ध में लाघुलोवाद (=राहुलोवाद सुत्त) हैं।

भंते, मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये धर्म वचन अधिकांश भिक्षु एवं भिक्षुणी बार-बार सुनें और (उनका) मनन करें तथा उसी प्रकार उपासक एवं उपासिका भी (करे)।

भंते, मैं इसे इसीलिये लिखा रहा हूँ कि वे (उक्त भिक्षु, भिक्षुणी, उपासक एवं उपासिका) मेरा अभिप्राय जान लें।"

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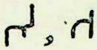
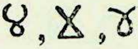
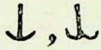
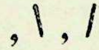
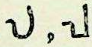
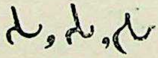
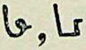
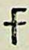
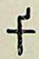
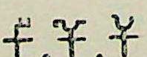
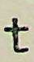
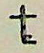
544 B.C.	Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha ; commencement of the Buddha Era.
527 B.C.	Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra ; commencement of the Mahāvīra Era.
467 B.C. (M.E. 60)	Commencement of the Nanda rule in Magadha and Ujjayinī.
424 B.C. (M.E. 103)	Accession of Mahāpadma Nanda ; conquest of Kaliṅga and inauguration of the Tanasuliyavāṭā canal by him.
414 B.C. (M.E. 113)	Formation of the Tamila Confederacy.
362 B.C. (M.E. 165)	Decline of the Principal Scripture of the Jains.
324 B.C.	Accession of Chandragupta Maurya in Magadha.
317 or 312 B.C. (M.E. 210 or 215)	End of the Nanda rule and commencement of the Maurya rule in Ujjayinī ; construction of the Sudarśana lake near Girnar.
300 B.C.	Accession of Bindusāra.
272 B.C.	Accession of Aśoka.
260 B.C.	Promulgation of R.E. I-IV, M.R.E. I-II, and Barabar Cave Inscriptions of the Year 12.
259 B.C.	Promulgation of R.E. V-XIV and K.R.E. I-II.
253 B.C.	Barabar Cave Inscription of the Year 19.
252 B.C.	Rummindei and Nigliva records.
246 B.C.	P.E. I-VI, Schism Edicts, Queen's Edict and Bhabru Edict.
245 B.C.	P.E. VII.
236 B.C.	Death of Aśoka and disintegration of the Maurya Empire ; founding of the Sātavāhana kingdom near Nasik and of the Chedi kingdom in Kaliṅga.

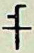
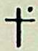
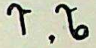
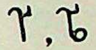
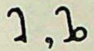
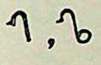
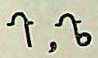
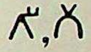
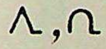
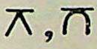
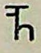
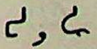
219 B.C.	Death of Samprati and further dismemberment of the Maurya Empire ; founding of independent kingdoms in Mathurā, Ahichchhatrā, and Kauśāmbī.
209 B.C.	Birth of Khāravela.
206 B.C.	End of the Maurya rule in Magadha and installation of Bahasatimita as the King of Magadha.
206—172 B.C.	Bahasatimita in Magadha and Kauśāmbī.
204—169 B.C.	Pushyamitra Śuṅga in Vidiśā and Ujjayinī.
194—184 B.C.	Śrī Śātakarṇi, 3rd ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty.
194 B.C.	Khāravela associated in administration as Yuvarāja.
185 B.C.	Coronation of Khāravela as the King of Kaliṅga.
185—172 B.C.	Khāravela in Kaliṅga.
185—184 B.C.	Renovation of the capital.
184—183 B.C.	Expedition in the west up to the R. Krishṇaveṇā.
183—182 B.C.	Musical parties, festivals and fairs in the capital.
182—181 B.C.	Expedition in the Vindhyas and subjugation of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas.
181—180 B.C.	Tanasuliyavāṭā canal brought into the capital.
180—179 B.C.	Display of opulence by remitting taxes and bestowing favours.
179—178 B.C.	A child is born to Queen Vajiragharavati.
178—177 B.C.	Storming of Gorathagiri and liberation of Mathurā ; worship of the Stūpa and performance of the Sarvagrahaṇa ceremony at Mathurā.
177—176 B.C.	Building of the Mahāvijayaprāsāda on the R. Prāchī.
176—175 B.C.	Preparations for the campaign of conquest.
175—174 B.C.	Annihilation of Pithuṇḍa and breaking of the Tamila Confederacy.
174—173 B.C.	Conquest of Magadha ; worship of the Kaliṅga-Jina ; fixing of pinnacles on the gates of the capital ; and subjugation of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.
173—172 B.C.	Excavation of the Relic Memorial on the Mt. Kumārī and convening of the Jain Council near that shrine.
172 B.C. (M.E. 355)	Incising of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription.

Transcription Chart of Brāhmi Script

NĀGARĪ	ROMAN	BRĀHMĪ
Vowels		
अ, अ	a	𑀅, 𑀅
आ, आ	ā	𑀆, 𑀆
इ	i	𑀇
उ	u	𑀉
ए	e	𑀏, 𑀏
ऐ	ai	𑀐, 𑀐
ओ, ओ	o	𑀑
अं, अं	ṁ	𑀅𑀁, 𑀅𑀁
Consonants		
क	ka	𑀓
ख	kha	𑀔, 𑀔
ग	ga	𑀕, 𑀕
घ	gha	𑀖, 𑀖
ङ	ṅa	𑀗
च	cha	𑀘, 𑀘

छ	chha	𑀙, 𑀙
ज	ja	𑀚
झ, झ	jha	𑀛
ञ	ña	𑀜
ट	ṭa	𑀝
ठ	ṭha	𑀞
ड	ḍa	𑀟, 𑀟
ढ	ḍha	𑀠
ण, ण	ṇa	𑀡
त	ta	𑀢, 𑀢
थ	tha	𑀣
द	da	𑀤, 𑀤
ध	dha	𑀥, 𑀥, 𑀥, 𑀥
न	na	𑀦
प	pa	𑀧; 𑀧
फ	pha	𑀨

ब	ba	
भ	bha	
म	ma	
य	ya	
र	ra	
ल	la	
व	va	
श	śa	
ष	sha, ṣa	
स	sa	
ह	ha	
Medials		
का	kā	
कि	ki	
की	kī	
कु	ku	
कू	kū	

के	ke	
को	ko	
कं	kaṁ	
खा	khā	
खि	khi	
खु	khu	
खे	khe	
खो	kho	
गी	gī	
गु	gu	
गो	go	
जा	jā	
ञो	ño	
टा	ṭā	
टे	ṭe	
डु	ḍu	

णा	ṇā	𑀡𑀸
णो	ṇo	𑀡𑁄
था	thā	𑀣𑀸
थि	thi	𑀣𑀺
थी	thī	𑀣𑀻
थु	thu	𑀣𑀼
थे	the	𑀣𑁂
थो	tho	𑀣𑁄
दीं	dīṁ	𑀤𑀻𑀁, 𑀤𑀻𑀁
दु	du	𑀤𑀼
धि	dhi	𑀥𑀺
नु	nu	𑀦𑀼
पु	pu	𑀧𑀼
बा	bā	𑀩𑀸
बि	bi	𑀩𑀺
बी	bī	𑀩𑀻

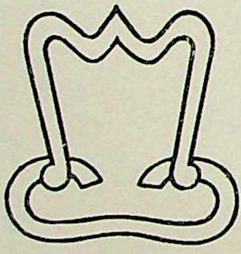
बु	bu	𑀩𑀼
भिं	bhiṁ	𑀪𑀺𑀁
मा	mā	𑀫𑀸
मु	mu	𑀫𑀼
मे	me	𑀫𑁂
मो	mo	𑀫𑁄
यु	yu	𑀬𑀼, 𑀬𑀼
यू	yū	𑀬𑀽, 𑀬𑀽
यो	yo	𑀬𑁄, 𑀬𑁄
रि	ri	𑀭𑀺
री	rī	𑀭𑀻
रु	ru	𑀭𑀼
रो	ro	𑀭𑁄
लिं	Liṁ	𑀮𑀺𑀁
ले	le	𑀮𑁂
शि	śi	𑀰𑀺

शो	śo	𑀰𑁄

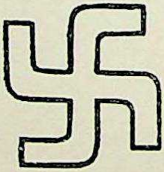
Mixed Consonants

च्य	chya	𑀘𑁆𑀬
प्र	pra	𑀧𑁆𑀭

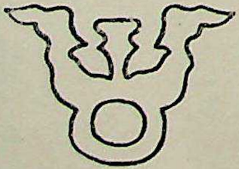
SYMBOLS IN THE HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION



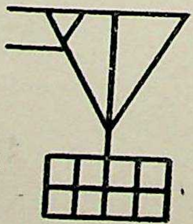
Mukuṭa



Svastika



Nandipada



Dhvaja

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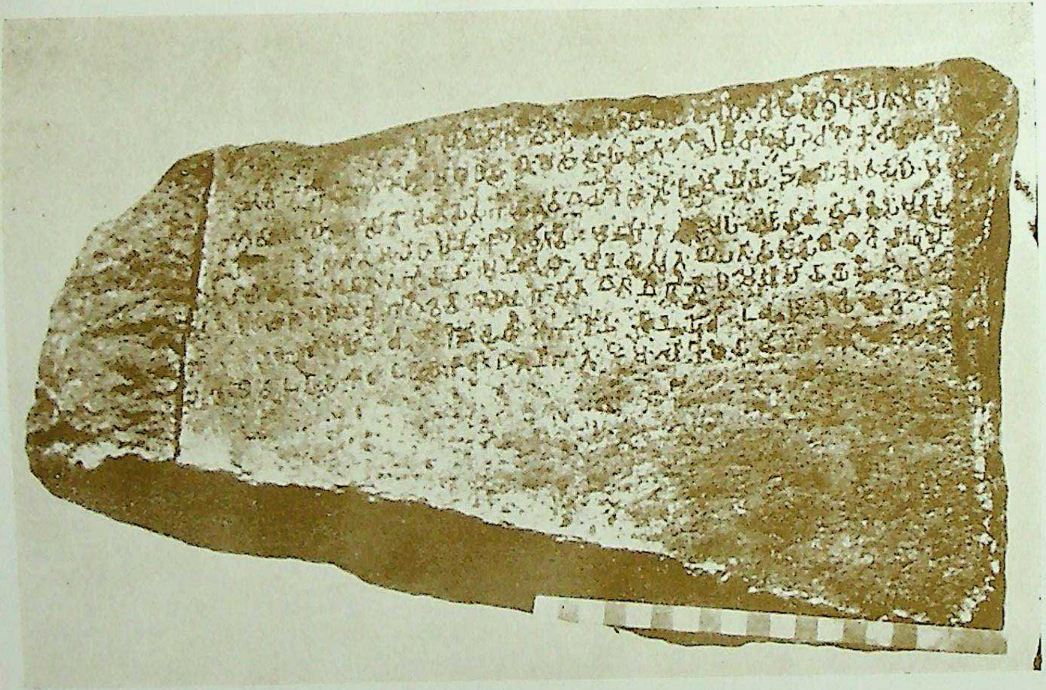
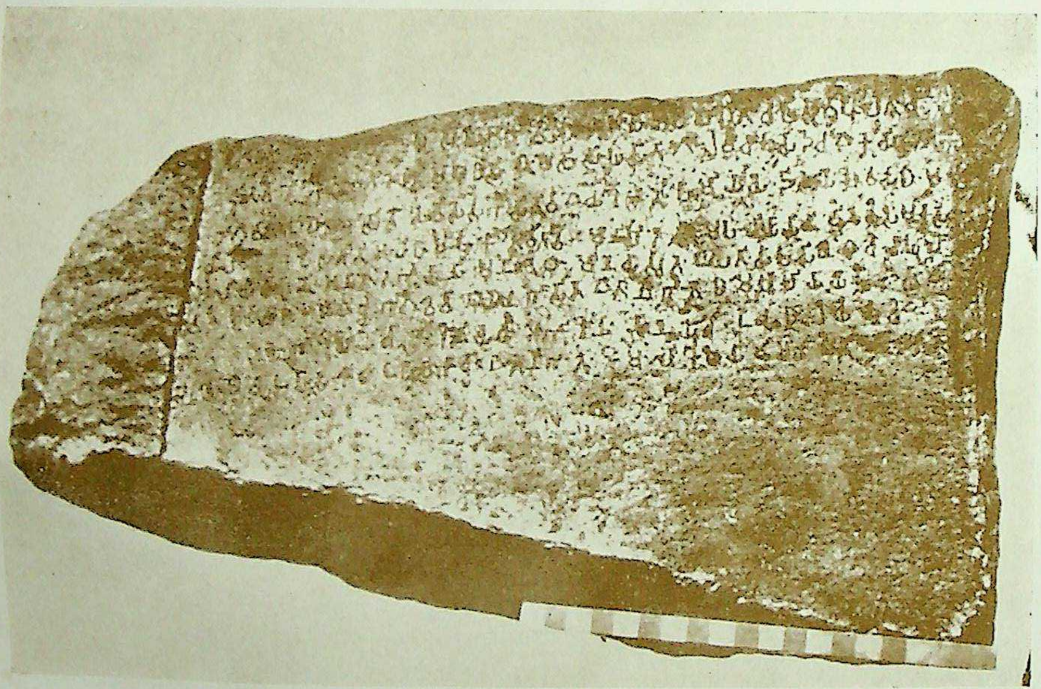
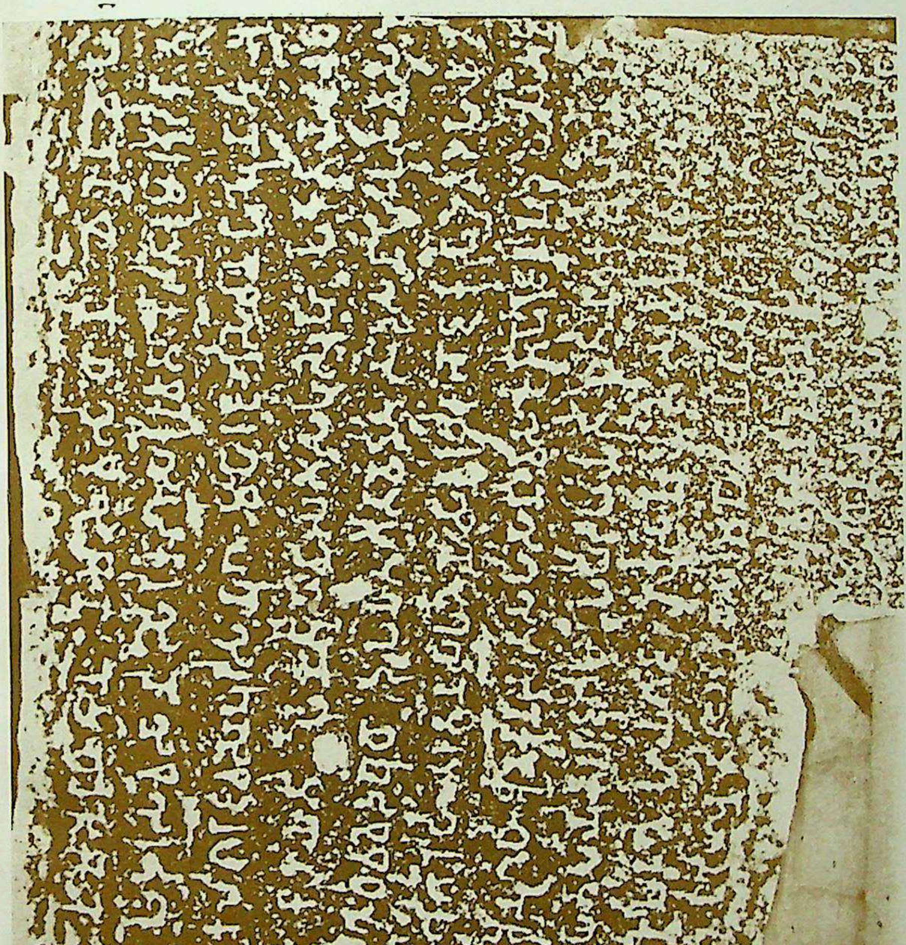


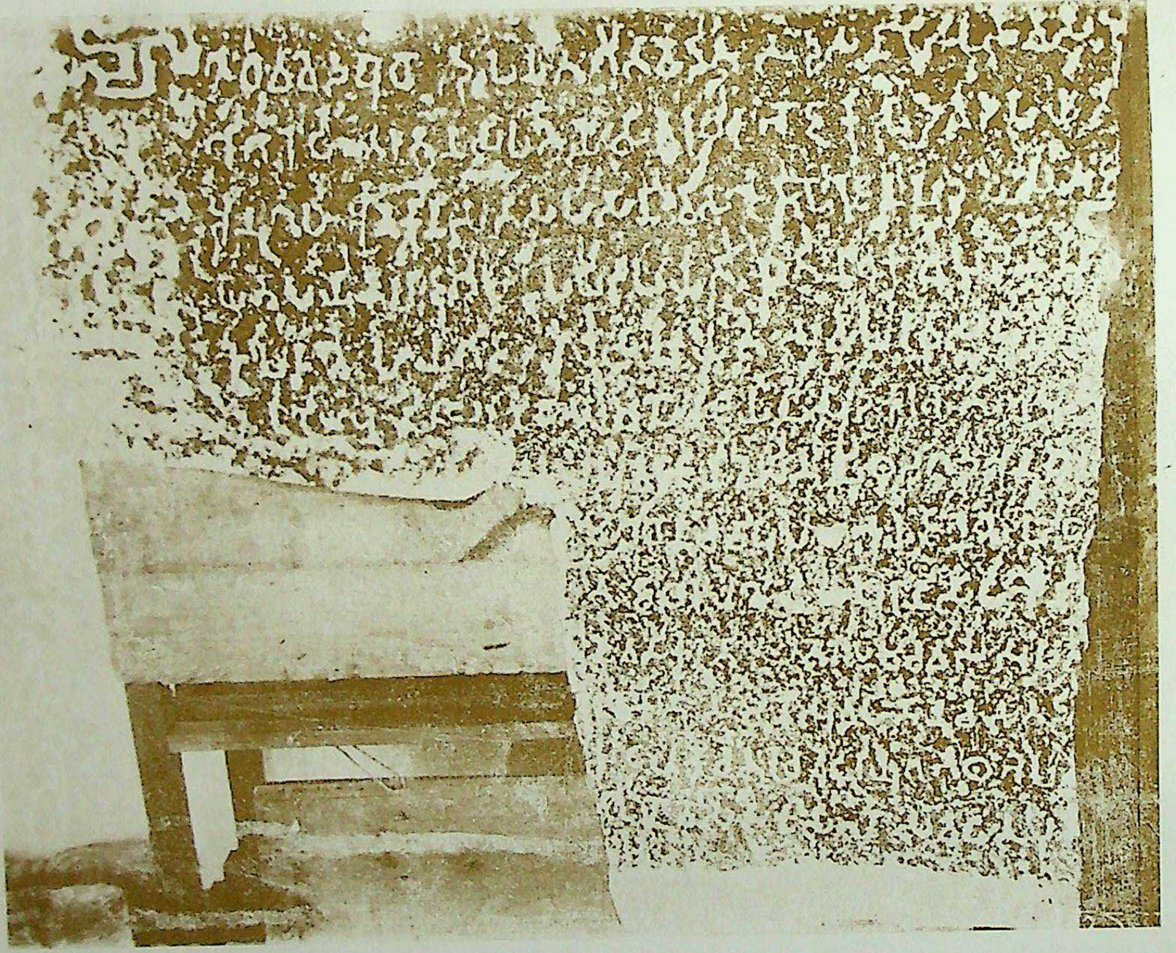
I. *The Bhabru Edict of Aśoka*



1. *The Bhabru Edict of Aśoka*



11. The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 1-12 contd. Pl. IV

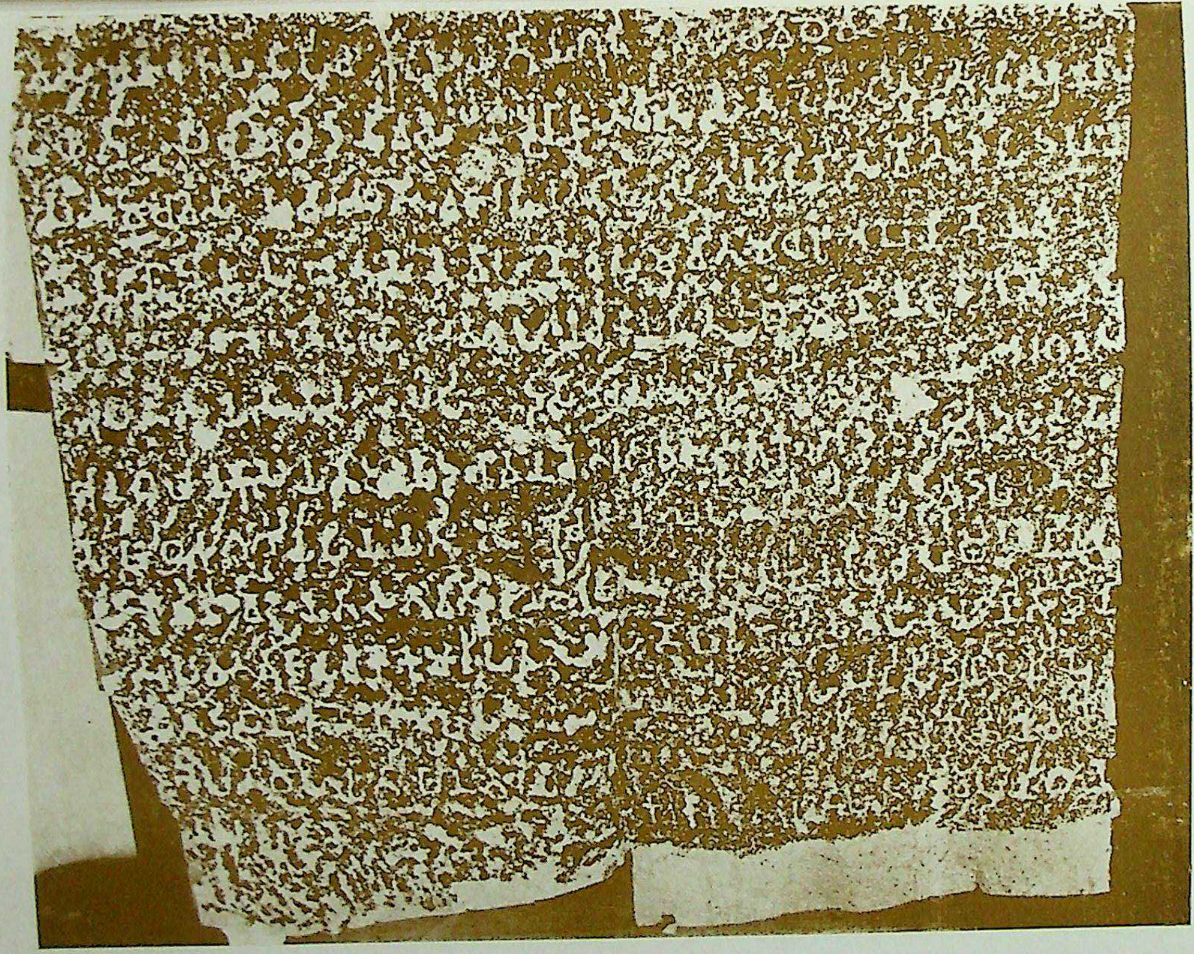


III. *The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 5-17*

contd. Pl. V

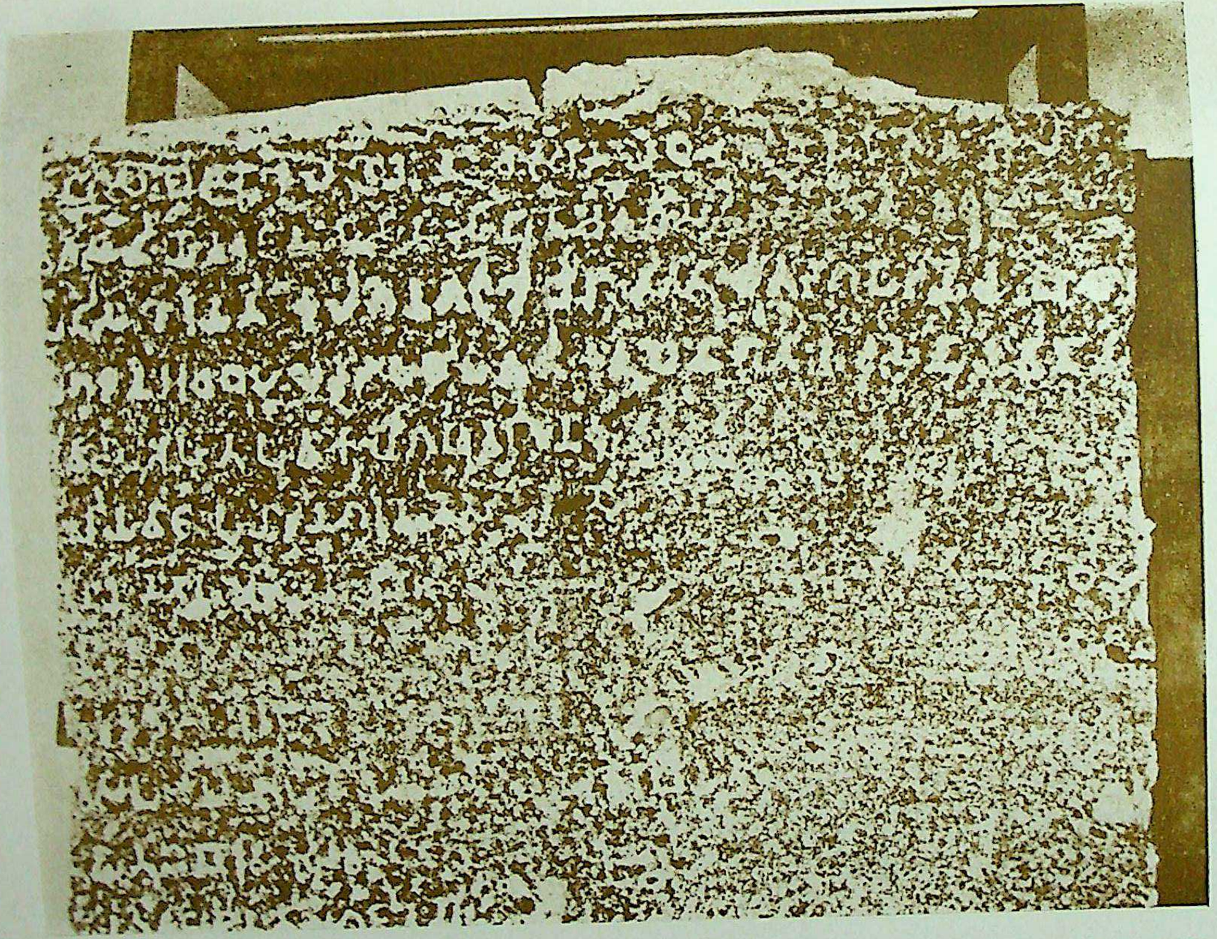
IV. *The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 1-12*

contd. Pl. VI



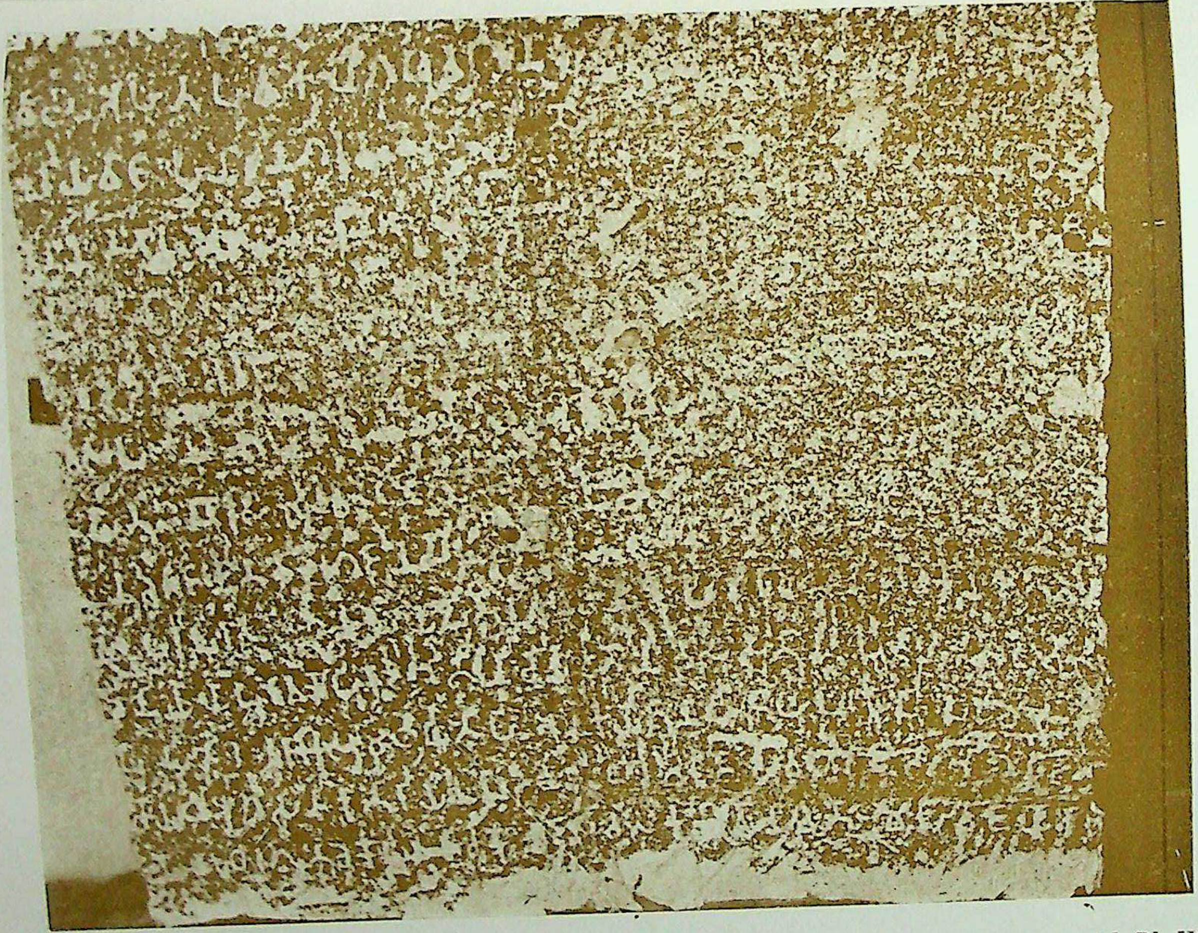
V. The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 5-17

contd. Pl. VII



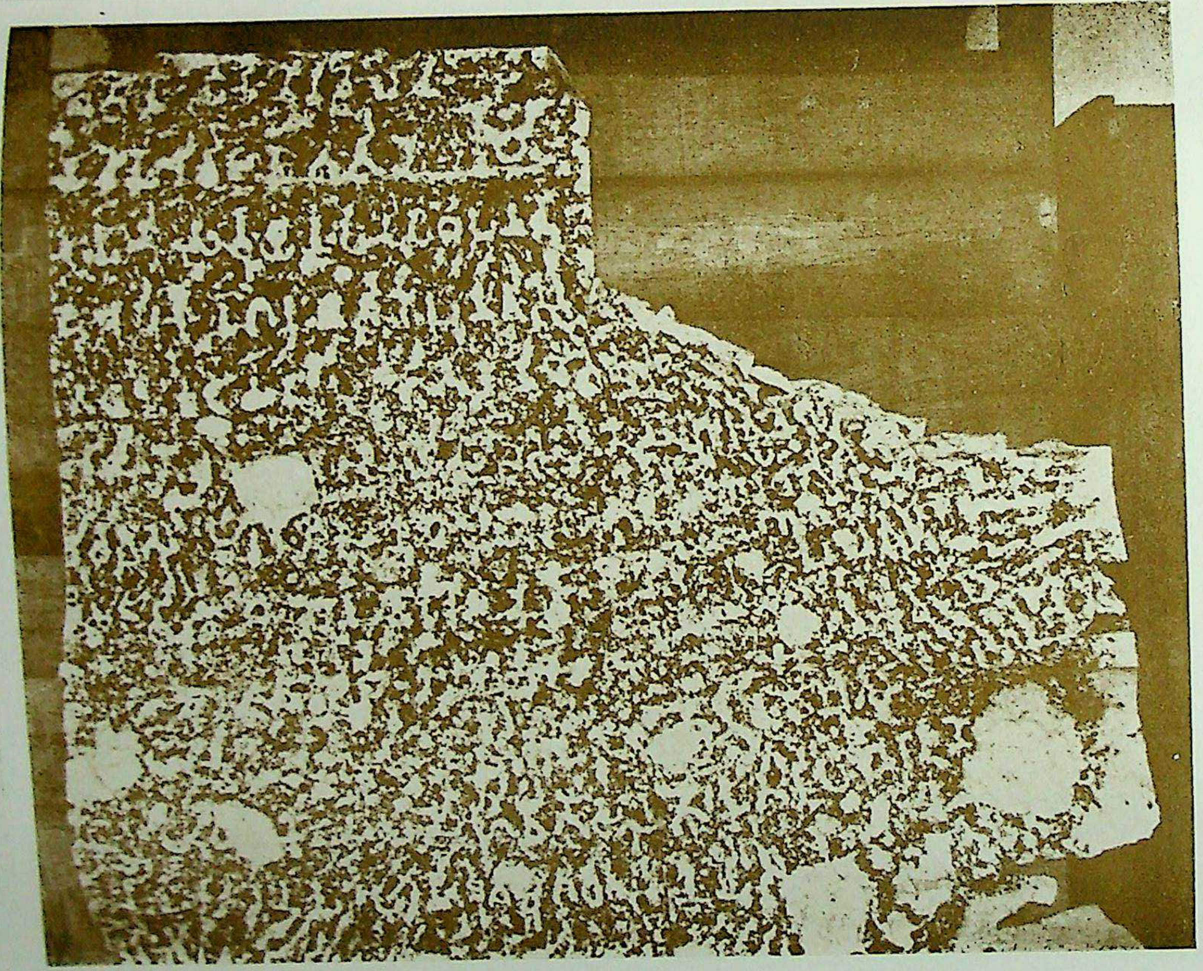
VI. *The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 1-12*

contd. Pl. VIII

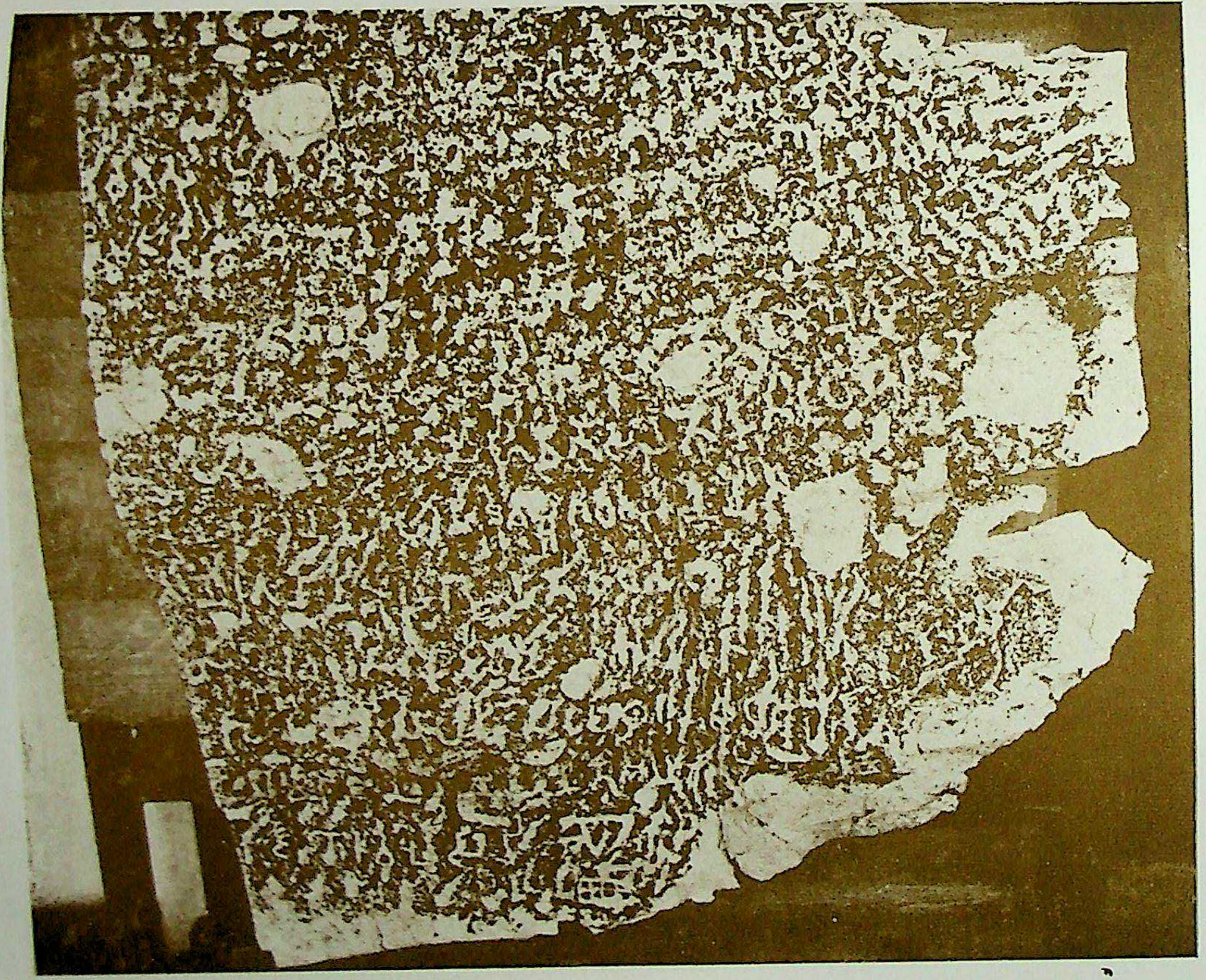


contd. Pl. IX

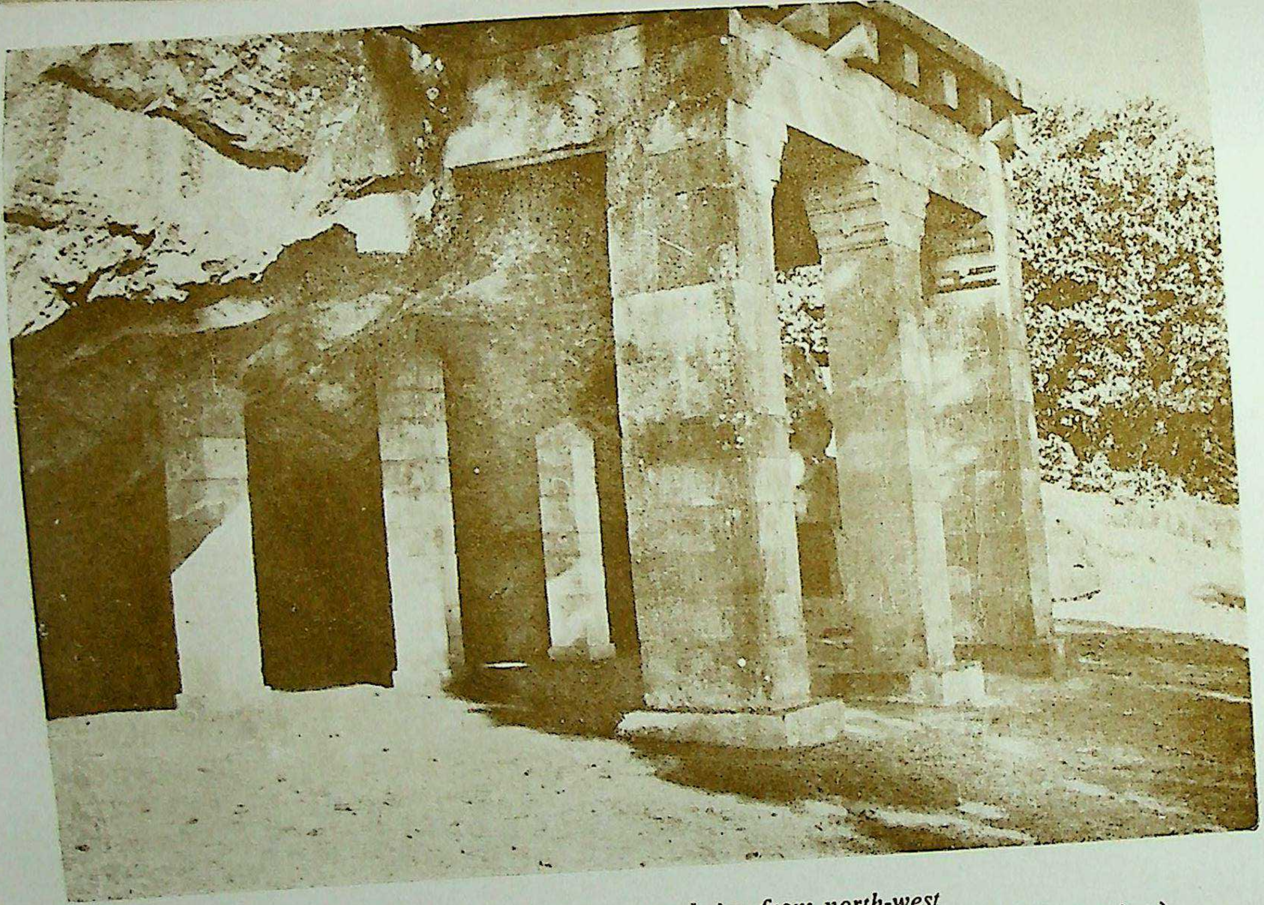
VII. The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 5-17



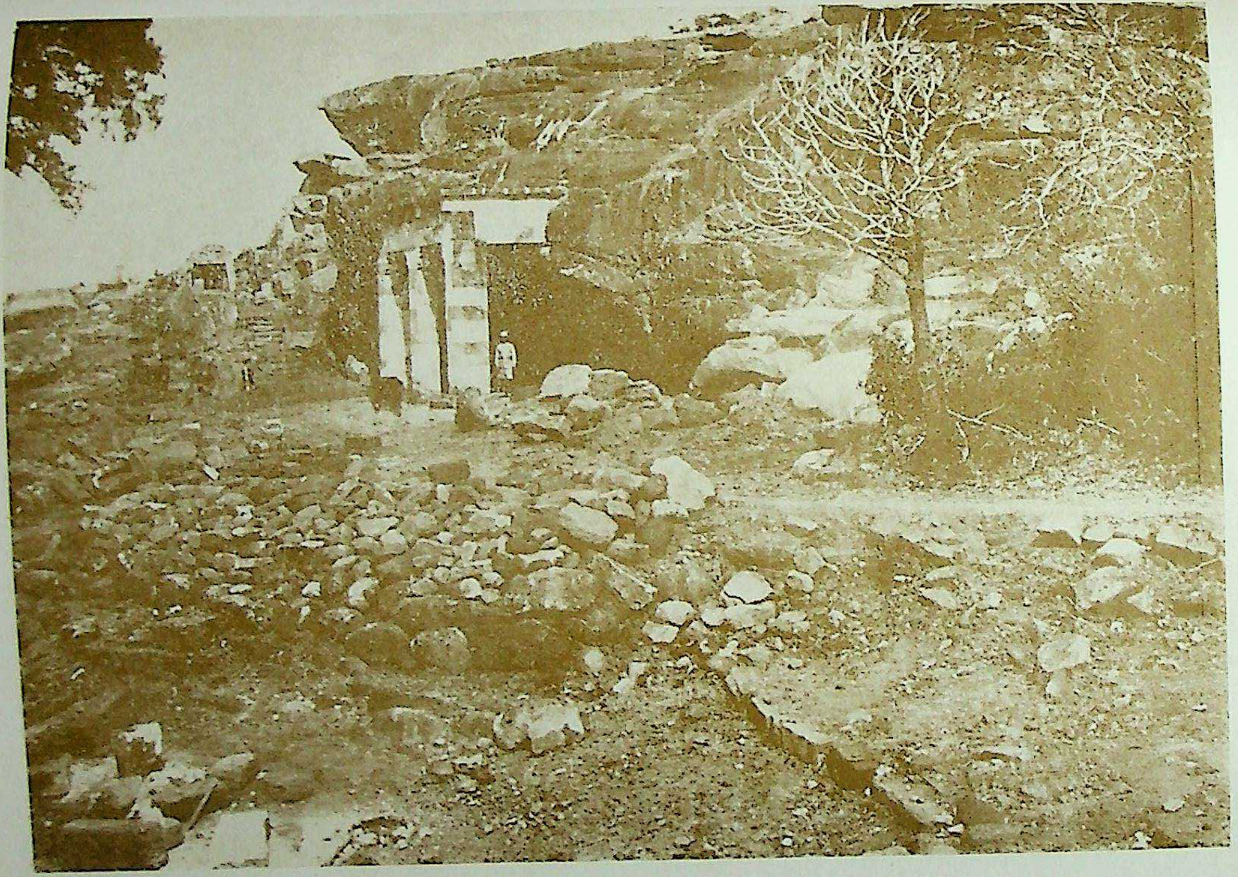
VIII. The Hāthī-gumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 1-12 concluded



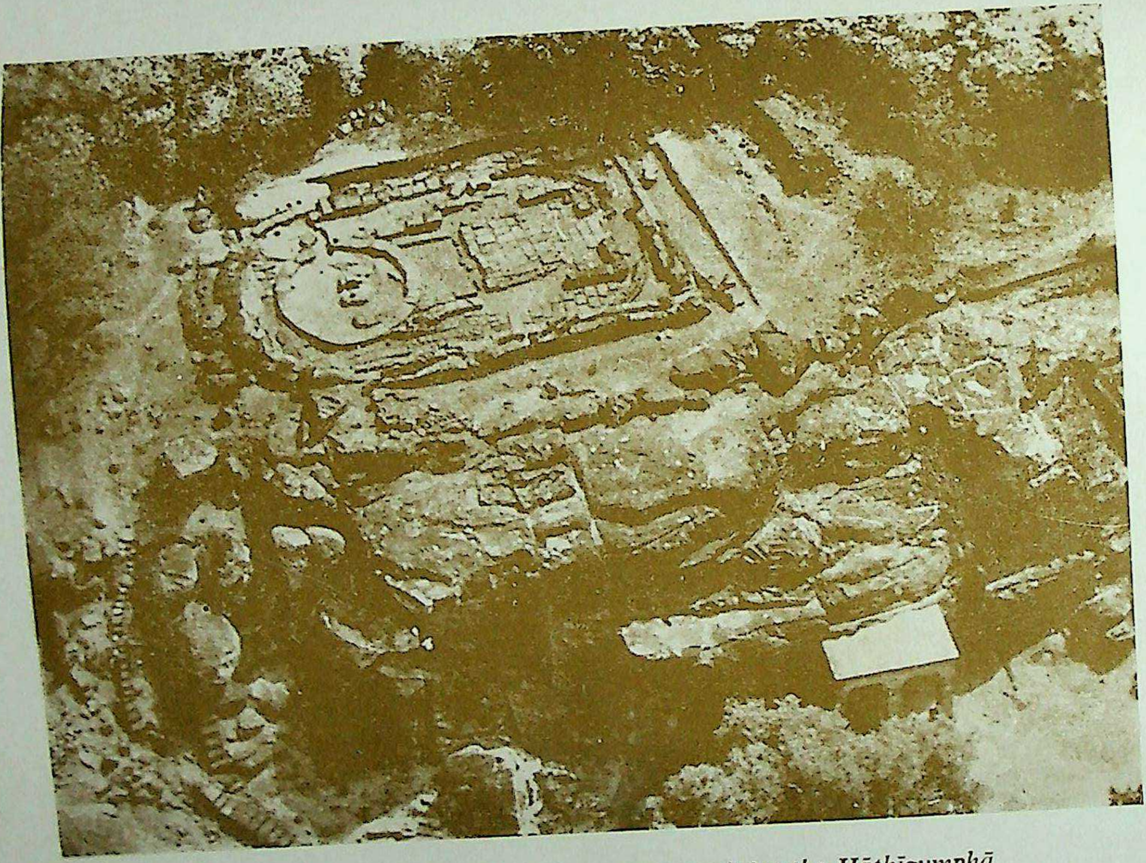
IX. The Hāthī-gumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Lines 5-17 concluded



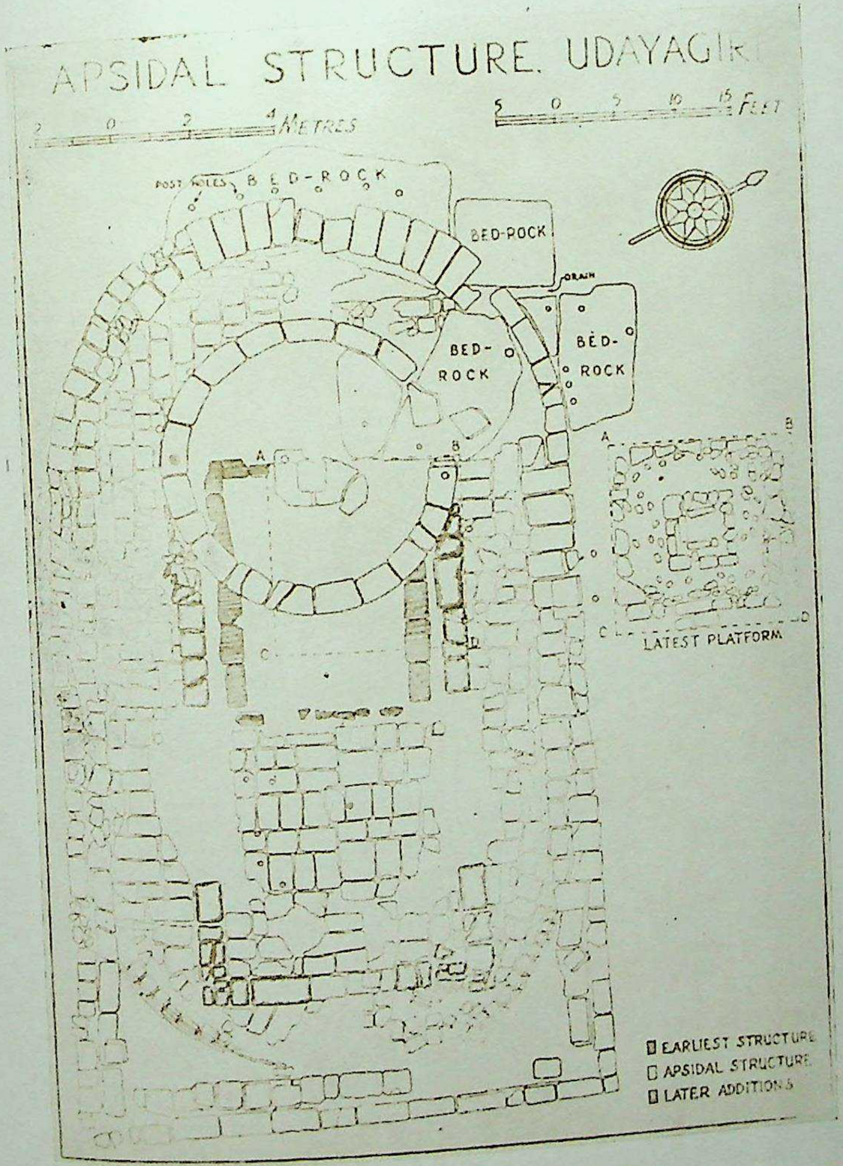
X. *The Hāthīgumphā—general view from north-west*
(Khāravela's inscription is immediately beside the stone looking white under the portico.)



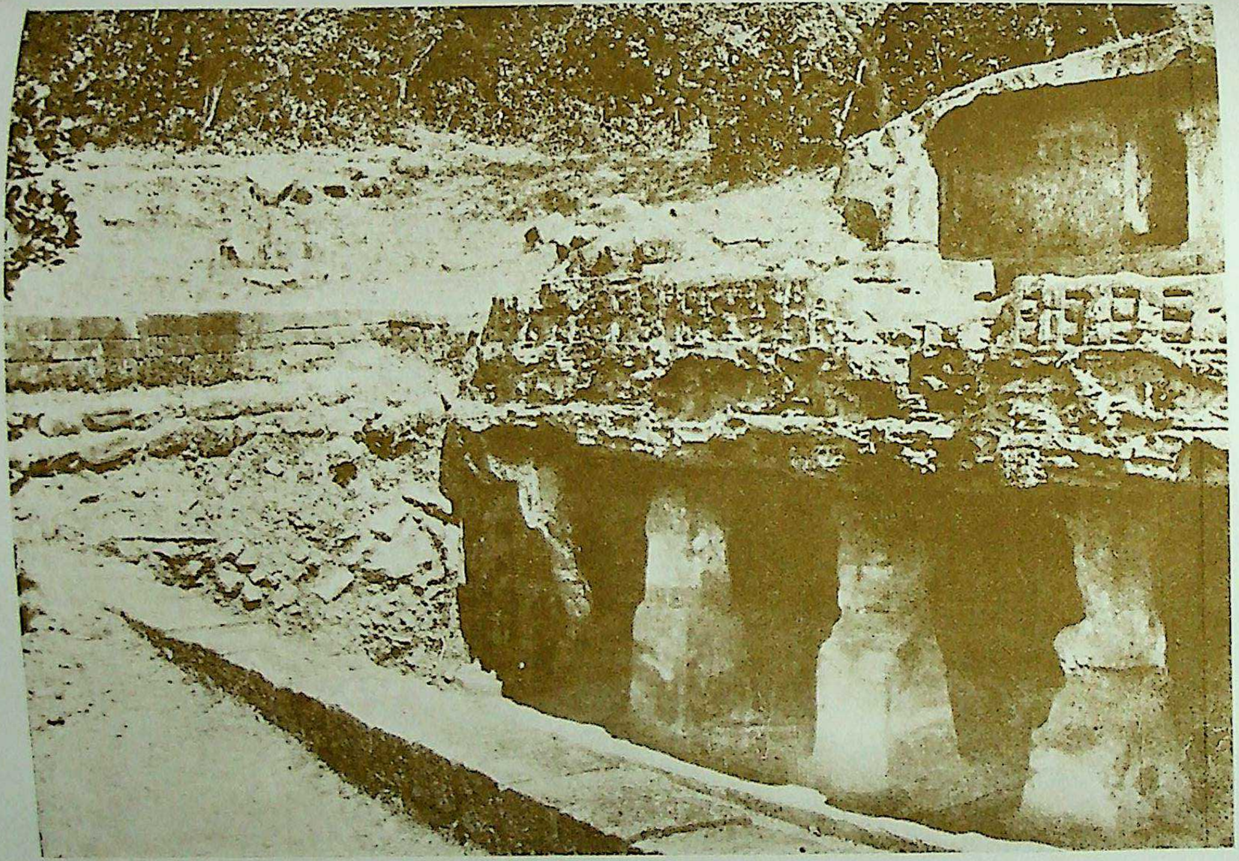
XI. *The Hāthīgumphā and other caves on the Udayagiri—general view from south-east*



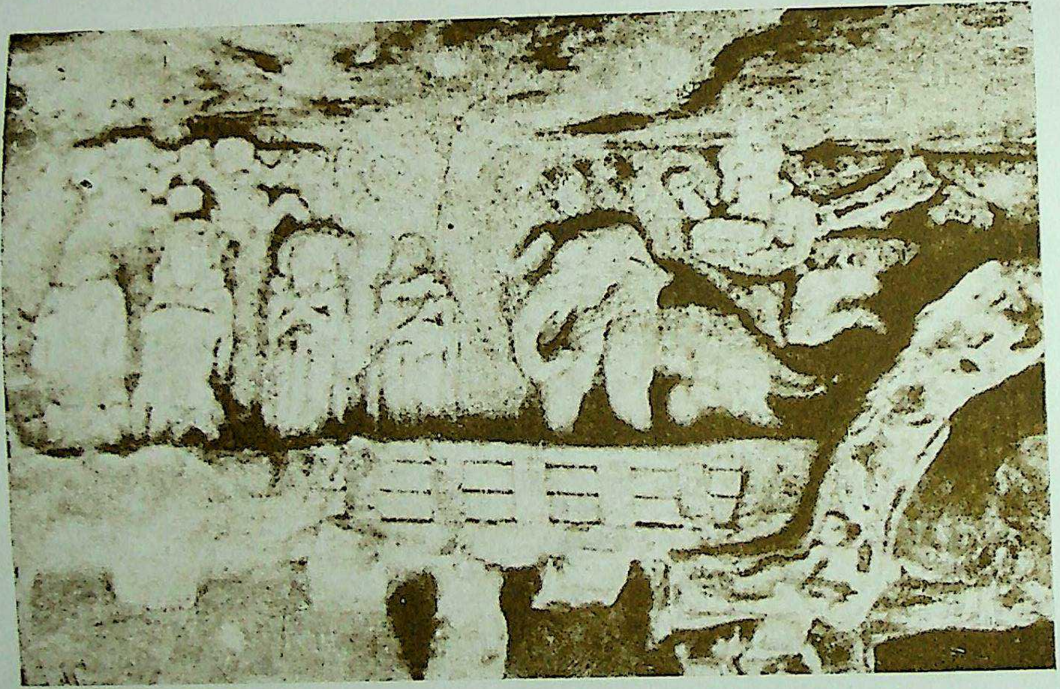
XII. *The remains of the apsidal structure overlying the Hāthīgumphā*


APSIDAL STRUCTURE, UDAYAGIR
2 0 2 4 METRES
5 0 5 10 15 FEET
POST HOLES
BED-ROCK
BED-ROCK
DRAIN
BED-ROCK
BED-ROCK
A
B
C
D
LATEST PLATFORM
EARLIEST STRUCTURE
APSIDAL STRUCTURE
LATER ADDITIONS

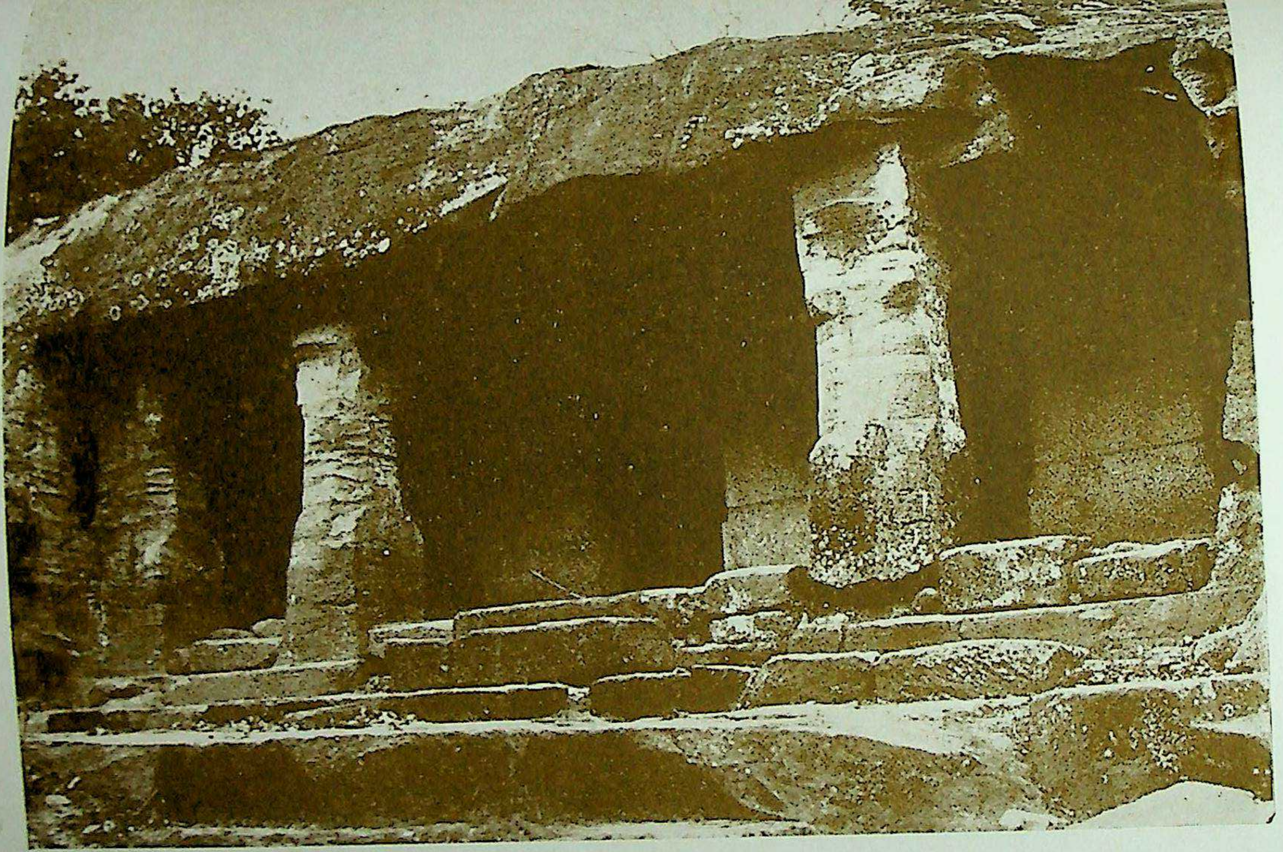
XIII. *Sketch of the apsidal structure*



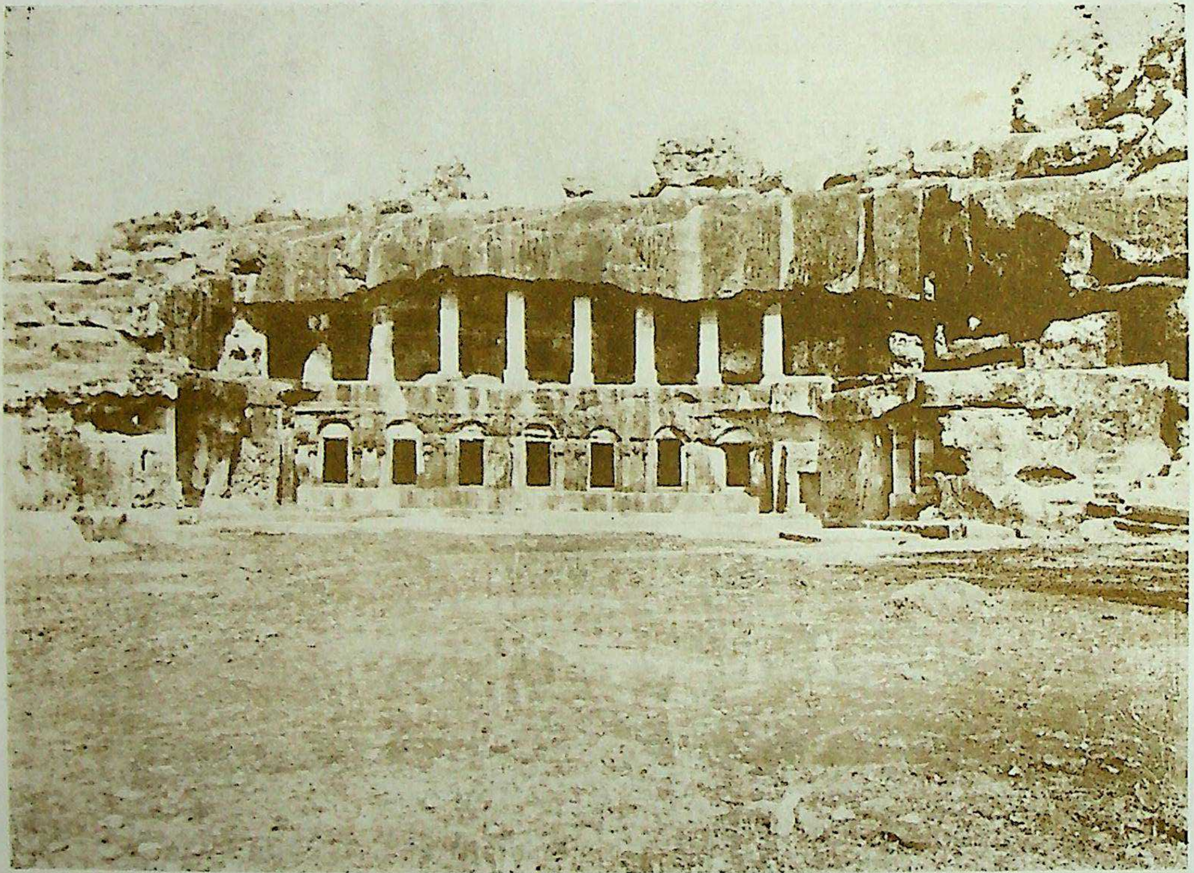
XIV. *The Mañchapuri and Svargapuri Caves—general view from south-east*



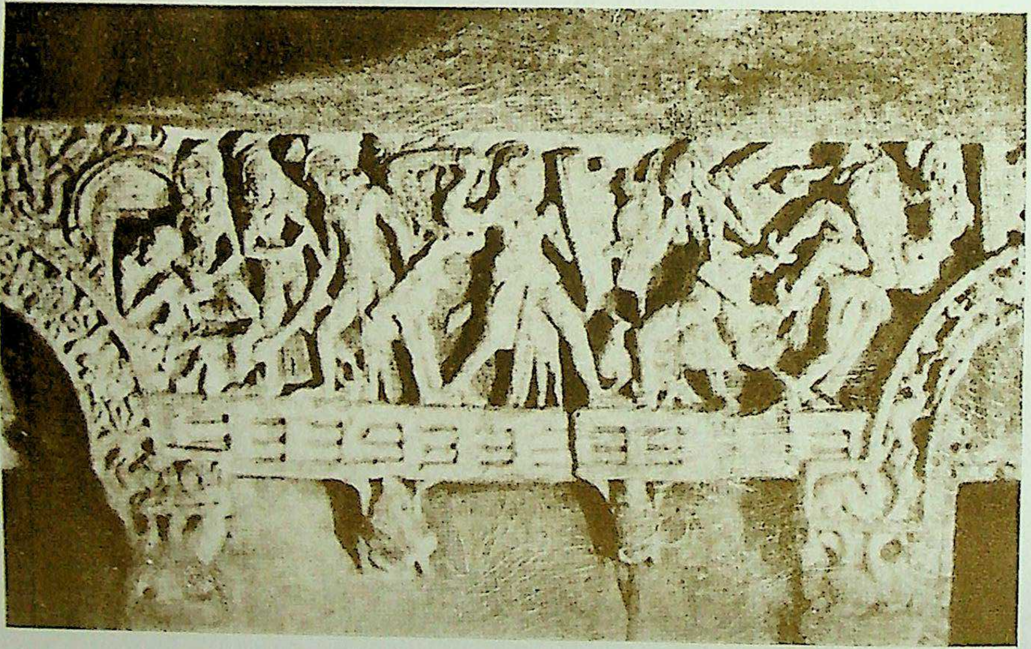
XV. *Worship Scene on a freize in the Mañchapuri Cave*



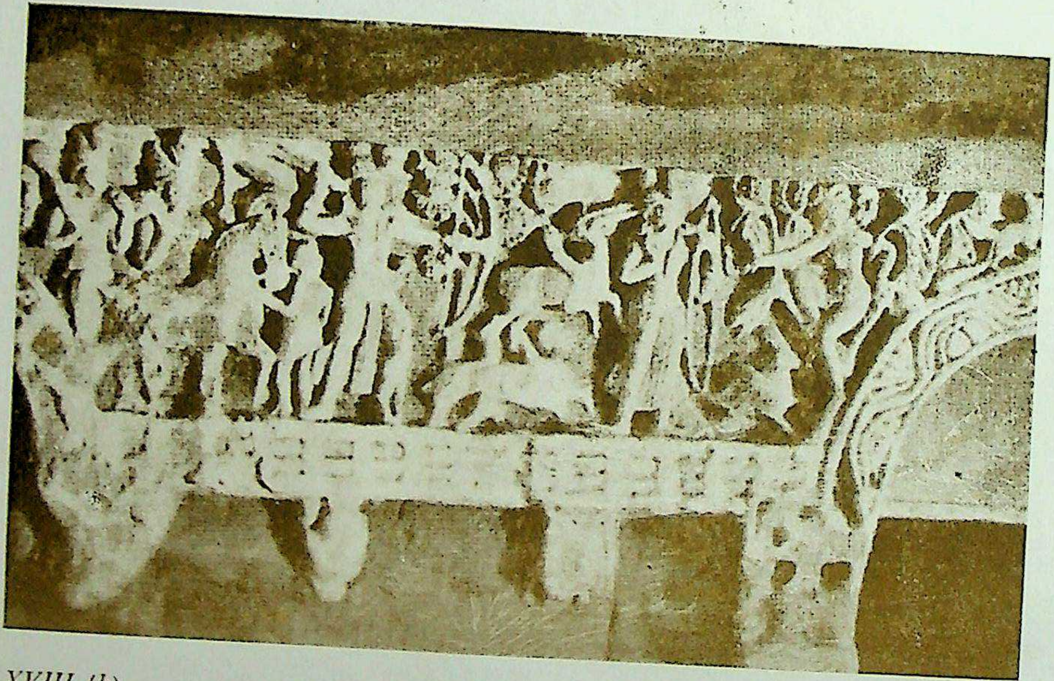
XVI. The Pātālapuri Cave—view from west



XVII. · *The Rāṇī Gumphā—view from east*

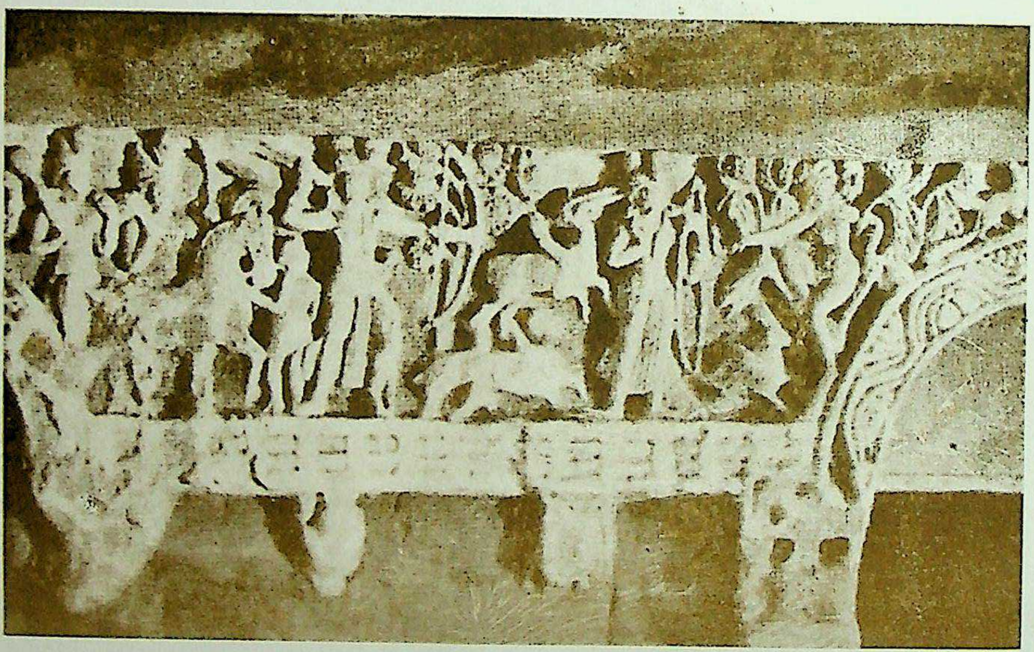


XVIII. (a) *Hunting scene*



XVIII. (*b*)

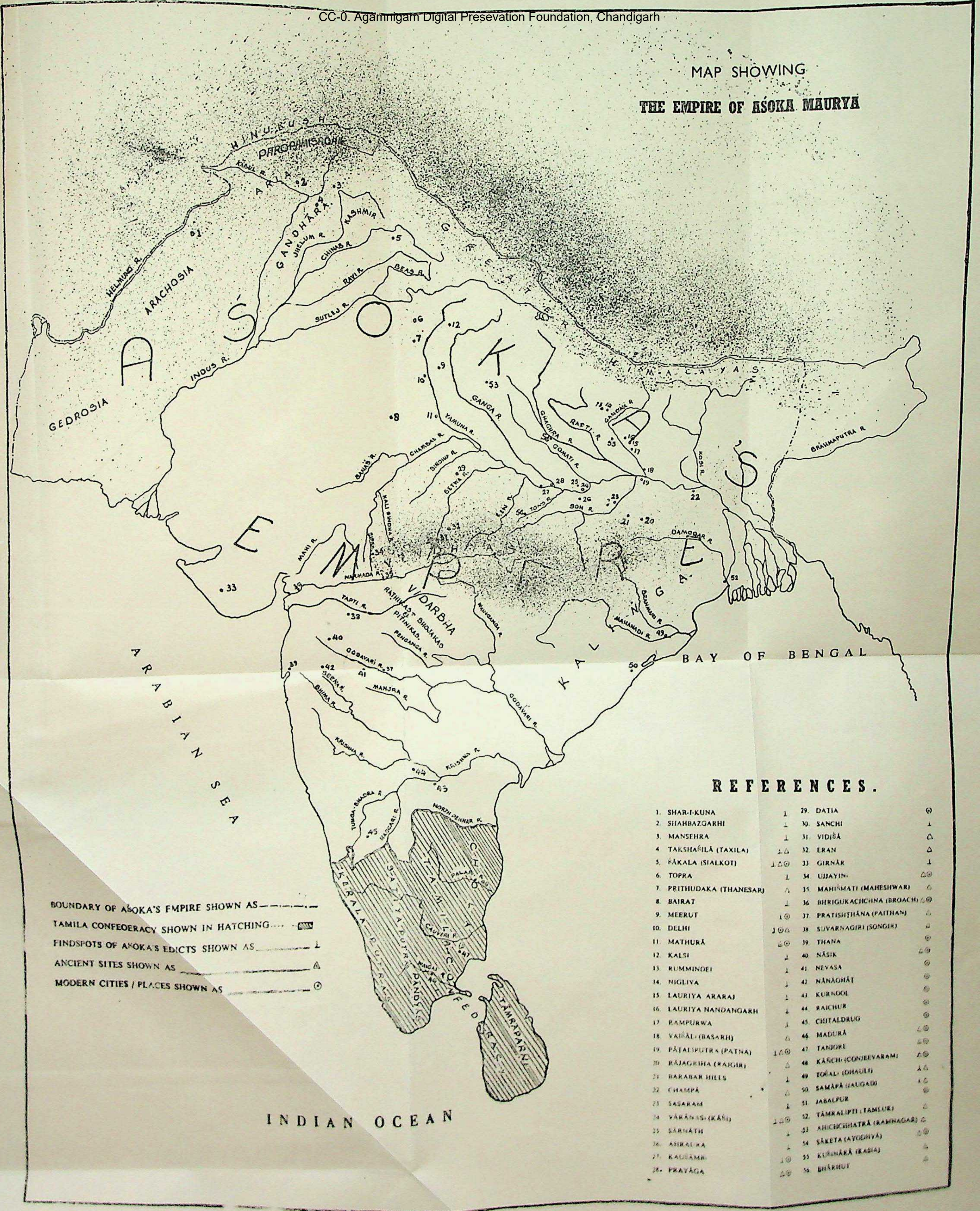
Merry-making scene
—friezes in the Rāṇī Gumphā (upper story)



XVIII. (*b*)

Merry-making scene
—friezes in the Rāṇī Gumphā (upper story)

MAP SHOWING
THE EMPIRE OF AŚOKA MAURYA


HINDUKUSH
PAROPAMISADAE
KABUL R.
ARIA
GANDHĀRA
KASHMIR
JHELUM R.
CHINAB R.
RAVI R.
BEAS R.
SUTLEJ R.
INDUS R.
HELMUND R.
ARACHOSIA
GEDROSIA
AŚOKA'S EMPIRE
GREAT HIMALAYAS
YAMUNA R.
GANGA R.
GHAGRA R.
GOMATI R.
RAPTI R.
GANDAK R.
KOSI R.
BRAHMAPUTRA R.
CHAMBAL R.
BANAS R.
SINDHU R.
BETWA R.
KALI SINDHU R.
KEN R.
TONS R.
SON R.
DAMODAR R.
MAHI R.
NARMADA R.
VINDHYAS
TAPTI R.
VIDARBHA
RATHIKAS & BHOJAKAS
PITINIKAS
PENGANGA R.
WAINGANGA R.
MAHANADI R.
BRAHMANI R.
KALINGA
GODAVARI R.
MANJRA R.
SEENA R.
BHIMA R.
KRISHNA R.
TUNGABHADRA R.
HAGARI R.
NORTH PENNAR R.
PALAR R.
CAUVERI R.
VAIGAI R.
KERALAPUTRAS
SATIYAPUTRAS
CHOLAS
TAMILA CONFEDERACY
PANDYAS
TĀMRAPARNĪ
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN

BOUNDARY OF AŚOKA'S EMPIRE SHOWN AS —·—·—·—

TAMILA CONFEDERACY SHOWN IN HATCHING ▨

FINDSPOTS OF AŚOKA'S EDICTS SHOWN AS ⊥

ANCIENT SITES SHOWN AS △

MODERN CITIES / PLACES SHOWN AS ⊙

REFERENCES.

1.	SHAR-I-KUNA	⊥	29.	DATIA	⊙
2.	SHAHBAZGARHI	⊥	30.	SANCHI	⊥
3.	MANSEHRA	⊥	31.	VIDIŚĀ	△
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10.	DELHI	⊥⊙△	38.	SUVARNAGIRI (SONGIR)	△
11.	MATHURĀ	△⊙	39.	THANA	⊙
12.	KALSI	⊥	40.	NĀSIK	△⊙
13.	RUMMINDEI	⊥	41.	NEVASA	⊙
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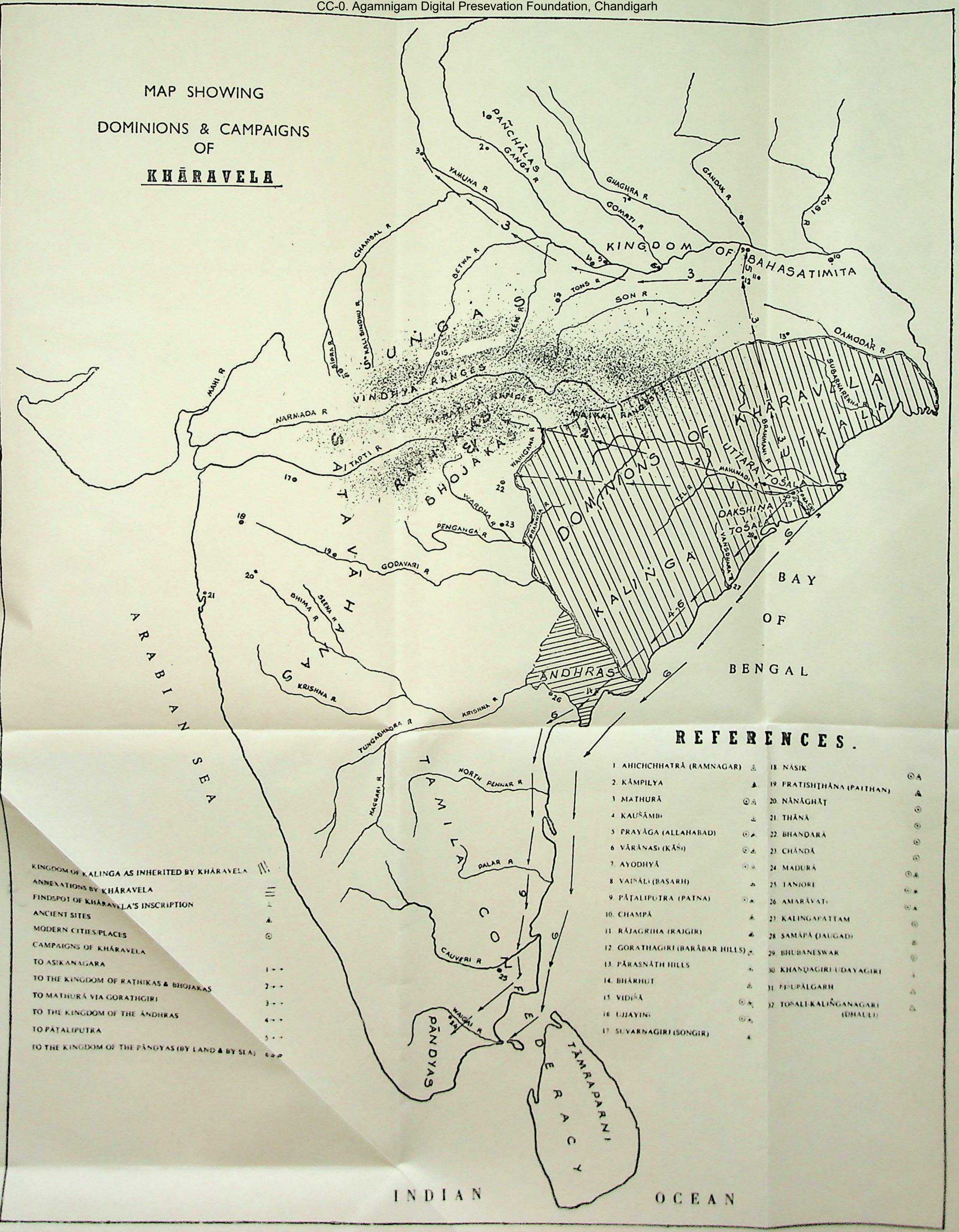
27.	KAUŚĀMBI	⊥⊙	55.	KUŚINĀRĀ (KASIA)	△
28.	PRAYĀGA	△⊙	56.	BHĀRHUT	△

MAP SHOWING DOMINIONS & CAMPAIGNS OF KHĀRAVELA


PAÑCHĀLAS
GANGA R
YAMUNA R
GHAGHRA R
GOMATI R
GANDAK R
KOSI R
CHAMBAL R
BETWA R
KEN R
TONS R
SON R
KINGDOM OF BAHASATIMITA
DAMODAR R
SUṄGAS
SIPRA R
KALI SINDHU R
VINDHYA RANGES
MAHI R
NARMADA R
MAHADEVA RANGES
MAIKAL RANGES
TAPTI R
RATHIKAS
BHOJAKAS
SĀTAVĀHANAS
WAINGANGA R
WARDHA R
PENGANGA R
GODAVARI R
BHIMA R
SEENA R
KRISHNA R
TUNGABHADRA R
DOMINIONS OF KHĀRAVELA
UTKALA
UTTARA TOSALA
DAKSHINA TOSALA
KALIṄGA
SUBARNAREKHA R
BRAHMANI R
MAHANADI R
TEL R
VANSDHARA R
PRACHI R
INDRAVATI R
ĀNDHRAS
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
NORTH PENNAR R
HAGGARI R
PALAR R
CAUVERI R
WAIGAI R
TAMILA CONFEDERACY
PĀNDYAS
TĀMRAPARNI
INDIAN OCEAN
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32
KINGDOM OF KALINGA AS INHERITED BY KHĀRAVELA
ANNEXATIONS BY KHĀRAVELA
FINDSPOT OF KHĀRAVELA'S INSCRIPTION
ANCIENT SITES
MODERN CITIES/PLACES
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TO THE KINGDOM OF RAṬHIKAS & BHOJAKAS 2
TO MATHURĀ VIA GORATHGIRI 3
TO THE KINGDOM OF THE ĀNDHRAS 4
TO PĀṬALIPUTRA 5
TO THE KINGDOM OF THE PĀNDYAS (BY LAND & BY SEA) 6
REFERENCES.
1 AHICHCHHATRĀ (RAMNAGAR)
2 KĀMPILYA
3 MATHURĀ
4 KAUŚĀMBI
5 PRAYĀGA (ALLAHABAD)
6 VĀRĀNASI (KĀŚI)
7 AYODHYĀ
8 VAIŚĀLI (BASARH)
9 PĀṬALIPUTRA (PATNA)
10 CHAMPĀ
11 RĀJAGRIHA (RAJGIR)
12 GORATHAGIRI (BARĀBAR HILLS)
13 PĀRASNĀTH HILLS
14 BHĀRHUT
15 VIDIŚĀ
16 UJJAYINI
17 SUVARNAGIRI (SONGIR)
18 NĀSIK
19 PRATISHṬHĀNA (PAITHAN)
20 NĀNĀGHĀṬ
21 THĀNĀ
22 BHANḌĀRĀ
23 CHĀNDĀ
24 MADURĀ
25 TANJORE
26 AMARĀVATI
27 KALINGAPATTAM
28 SAMĀPĀ (JAUGAḌ)
29 BHUBANESWAR
30 KHANḌAGIRI-UDAYAGIRI
31 ŚIŚUPĀLGARH
32 TOSALI-KALIṄGANAGARI (DHAULI)

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OPINIONS

Dr. A. L. Basham, Professor of Oriental Civilization, The Australian National University, Canberra :

The new edition and translation of the HĀTHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA by Dr. Shashi Kant marks a great step forward in our understanding of this very difficult historical document. In many particulars the fresh interpretation presented here is an obvious improvement over those of previous students of the subject.

The BHABRU EDICT OF AŚHOKA is as important for the history of Buddhism as the KHĀRAVELA'S HĀTHIGUMPHĀ Inscription is for that of Jainism and it arouses many questions as to the correct interpretation of the passages of scripture referred to and the relations of church and State under AŚOKA'S regime. Here, too, Dr. Shashi Kant has produced new theories of great importance.

* * *

Dr. Ram Kumar Dikshit, U. G. C. Professor on Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Lucknow University, Lucknow :

Dr. Shashi Kant has made an unbiassed study of the two important inscriptions. His approach is new and critical. It is a valuable contribution to Indological studies.

* * *

Prof. Krishna Dutt Bajpai, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Sagar University, Sagar :

Dr. Shashi Kant has studied these two important inscriptions critically. The book will go a long way in dispelling several wrong conceptions pertaining to the subject